A Hist. of Asia vol. I.

LETTER

TO AN

OFFICER

ON THE

MADRAS ESTABLISHMENT:

BEING AN ATTEMPT TO ILLUSTRATE SOME

PARTICULAR INSTITUTIONS

OF THE

MARATTA PEOPLE;

PRINCIPALLY RELATIVE TO THEIR

SYSTEM of WAR and FINANCE.

ALSO AN ACCOUNT OF THE

POLITICAL CHANGES OF THE EMPIRE, IN THE YEAR 1796,

AS PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY COURIER.

BY

WILLIAM HENRY TONE,

COMMANDING A REGIMENT OF INFANTRY IN THE SERVICE OF THE PAISHWA.

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This Day is Publiſhed,

Dedicated, by Permiſſion, to the

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS,

Preſident of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India, &c. &c.

PLAN

OF AN

ASIATIC REGISTER;

OR,

PROPOSALS

FOR PUBLISHING ANNUALLY,

A VIEW

OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS, COMMERCE, AND LITERATURE OF HINDUSTÂN;

TOGETHER WITH

A CONNECTED DETAIL OF THE PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES, CIVIL, MILITARY, AND COMMERCIAL, OF BRITISH INDIA.

The Firſt Volume of which will be publiſhed January 1800.

*** The Editors of the ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER reſpectfully entreat Orders for the Work to be tranſmitted to Mr. DEBRETT, oppoſite *Burlington Houſe*, *Piccadilly*, *London*; to whom all Communications intended for the ASIATIC REGISTER are to be addreſſed.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT was originally the intention of the writer of the following pages to have publiſhed them anonymouſly;—more reflection upon the ſubject has induced him to abandon the idea. In a work of this nature, which may be conſidered as a detail of certain facts not generally known, nor within the ſphere of common obſervation, the circumſtance of its appearing without a name might poſſibly have the effect of ſubtracting, in a certain degree, from its credibility. It will be found, that in a few particulars the preſent work diſſents from ſome eſtabliſhed opinions of writers who have treated of oriental cuſtoms and manners: wherever theſe differences occur, the writer hopes that his ideas will appear to be ſtated with candour, diveſted of any unbecoming confidence and preſumption. He begs leave, however, to make the following obſervations:—To underſtand the feelings or ſentiments of any people, he humbly conceives that it is neceſſary to ſee them in a ſtate of perfect independence; indeed it is eſſential to enter fully into their character, that you act with them on the footing of complete equality: in circumſtances of this kind you diſcover all the energies of their nature, their paſſions,

ſions, prejudices, partialities, and antipathies; in one word, their real character. Very few opportunities of diſcovering the Hindoo diſpoſition can poſſibly occur in the ſettlements; here we ſee the native in a ſtate of inferiority, inſenſibly departing from his original habits, and imperceptibly imbibing a certain proportion of European manners: ſuch a heterogeneous character is ſcarcely worth a diſquiſition; but the pure, unadulterated Hindoo offers a ſubject infinitely more intereſting. The writer's opportunities as an officer in the native ſervice afforded him advantages not within the reach of any individual in different circumſtances. The reſult of his obſervations is now ſubmitted to the reader, the author earneſtly deprecating all ſeverity of criticiſm, as the attempt can hope for very little, even from candour.

A LET-

A

LETTER,

&c. &c.

SIR,

I CONSIDER it as the duty of every Britiſh ſubject in this country, however ſituated, to contribute, to the utmoſt of his power, to the ſtock of general information. Our Aſiatic connexions, whether contemplated in a political or commercial point of view, render every attempt to illuſtrate the native character, at leaſt an uſeful effort. If in the obſervations which I have now the honour of ſubmitting to you, I ſhould be ſo fortunate as to develope any circumſtance not hitherto remarked, or throw any light upon a ſubject of ſuch general utility, every intention of mine will be fulfilled; but if, on the contrary, my matter ſhould have been anticipated, or, which I am more apprehenſive of, appear too ſuperficial to be of importance, I flatter myſelf you will ſtill conſider the whole attempt as ariſing, upon my part, from a wiſh to be as uſeful as poſſible, and receive this humble effort with that candour and liberality which is inſeparable from real genius.

On the ſubject of the Hindoo mythology in its fulleſt extent, I confeſs my information is very ſuperficial. Senſible of the magnitude of the ſubject, I have allotted to myſelf but a very ſmall portion of it—*the particular Inſtitutions of the*

Maratta People; and even on this topic ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch circumſtances as came under my obſervation merely as a ſoldier. Perhaps it will be impoſſible totally to avoid digreſſing; but whenever this happens, it ſhall be for the purpoſe of forwarding the general ſubject, and never from the vanity of being flowery or verboſe.

The Hindoo theology, in all its parts, is certainly a ſubject of the moſt obſcure and abſtruſe kind, and far beyond the comprehenſion of a mere obſerver. A doctrine ſo multifarious, embracing almoſt an endleſs variety of matter moral and political, is doubtleſs a moſt intereſting purſuit, and every way entitled to the moſt ſerious inveſtigation: but though much has been written on this ſubject, and certainly many curious facts diſcovered, yet I am afraid, with reſpect to many parts of it, the metaphyſical one in particular, we ſhall remain for ever in the dark. And here I cannot forbear obſerving, that it is generally believed that the Bramins have an inſurmountable diſlike to revealing the myſteries of their religion. I will not preſume to ſay that this is not true, but can only declare, that I have never diſcovered any ſuch backwardneſs in the Bramins whom I have had an opportunity of converſing with; I am rather inclined to think that our ignorance upon this head partly ariſes from the great obſcurity of the ſubject itſelf, and next from our very limited knowledge of the language, which diſables us from comprehending a ſyſtem ſo abſtract and myſterious. I do not pretend to have ſeen deeply into this ſubject; but in contemplating the Braminical ſcheme, I have always had occaſion to obſerve, that there ſeems in it a ſtudied deviation from the ordinary purpoſes and convenience of human life. It appears not to comprehend a determinate and ſettled ſyſtem of faith, but rather to conſiſt in certain obſervances merely with regard to diet. Theſe regulations are the moſt embarraſſing that a malignant genius could poſſibly deviſe, and the penalty upon the ſlighteſt breach of them, the moſt terrible that could be in-

flicted on a rational being—a total excommunication from ſociety. How a ſyſtem, that militates in almoſt every inſtance againſt general convenience, could ſo long have ſubſiſted, is ſufficient to excite aſtoniſhment; unleſs it ariſes from the ſtrange principle in the human mind, which prompts us to reſiſt, with incredible obſtinacy, the obvious dictates of reaſon and truth, and to adhere, with the moſt pertinacious infatuation, to that, the end, object, and deſign of which, it is impoſſible we ſhould ever comprehend. But from whatever cauſe it ariſe, the Hindoo theology has ſtood unimpaired through an unknown ſucceſſion of ages, has ſurvived the intolerance of Chriſtian and Mahomedan bigotry, maintained its ſyſtem entire in the midſt of foreign invaſion and domeſtic anarchy, and at this day holds up to philoſophical inquiry the moſt extraordinary character in the moral world.

In the great ſcale of rank and eminence, which is one peculiar feature of the Hindoo inſtitutions, the Maratta holds a very inferior ſituation; being juſt removed one degree above thoſe caſts that are conſidered as abſolutely unclean. In this artificial climax he ranks next the Daira or Parvarry; but while the lowneſs of his caſt may deprive him of reſpect from the higher orders, it has highly qualified him for the purpoſes of war, and may be conſidered as one of the ſources of that aſtoniſhing ſucceſs that has attended all the Maratta expeditions. Other circumſtances may have contributed to the ſame end; but there muſt have been ſome radical efficient cauſe, independent of adventitious incidents, to account for the ſudden growth and preſent greatneſs of the Maratta empire, eſpecially when we conſider that this ſtupendous government was eſtabliſhed by a people, that, a century ago, were ſcarcely diſtinguiſhed by a name.

I have already obſerved, that the inſtitutions of the Hindoos chiefly advert to certain regulations reſpecting their mode of living. The ſuperior caſt of Bramins, of Pundet order, eat nothing that has had animal life. The other ranks, as they

deſcend, are leſs reſtricted in this particular, until it reaches the lower degrees, who labour under no reſtraints, except merely being debarred from eating the fleſh of the cow. In the higher tribes, they can eat only at particular times, and under particular circumſtances; their victuals muſt be cooked with their own hands, or at leaſt by one of their caſt, though this is not univerſally admitted: they cannot eat twice of the food dreſſed for one meal; they muſt eat that meal naked; and if a perſon of another caſt come into the circle in which the Bramin cooks, the entire victuals are deſtroyed. There are a variety of other regulations, ſuch as waſhing, praying, &c. all equally treſpaſſing upon convenience, and, in a military point of view, may be productive of the worſt effects. From all theſe obſervances the Maratta is happily free. He can eat of all kinds of food, with the exception of beef; can dreſs his meal at all times and ſeaſons; can partake of all victuals dreſſed by any caſt ſuperior to his own: waſhing and praying are not indiſpenſable in his order, and may be practiſed or omitted at pleaſure. Theſe advantages, contraſted with the various diſabilities of the other tribes, point out the Maratta as eminently qualified for a military life. His very caſt, by which he muſt belong to the labouring claſs of the community, enures him to fatigue and the viciſſitudes of weather, and his rank is juſt ſufficiently reſpectable to permit his communicating with the Bramins, and availing himſelf of their talent: an advantage he could by no means have enjoyed, were he a ſingle degree lower in the climax. Laſtly, his numbers; the Maratta being eſteemed the moſt numerous of the Hindoo people; which circumſtance promiſes the moſt ſubſtantial hopes of ſucceſs in every military undertaking.

Gibbon, in his admirable Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, in ſpeaking of the Tartars, obſerves, that a paſtoral people are, above all others, the moſt inclined and beſt calculated for war. This remark has both truth and novelty to recommend it; and may be further confirmed by being

being applied to the Marattas, a people whoſe occupations are partly rural. The three great tribes that compoſe the Maratta caſt are, the Koonby, or farmer; the Dungur, or ſhepherd; and the Cowla, or cowherd. To this original cauſe, perhaps, may be aſcribed that great ſimplicity of manners which diſtinguiſhes the Maratta people. Homer mentions princeſſes going in perſon to the fountains to waſh their houſehold linen. I can affirm having ſeen the daughters of a prince (able to bring an army into the field much larger than the whole Greek confederacy) making bread with her own hands, and otherwiſe employed in the ordinary buſineſs of domeſtic houſewifery. I have ſeen one of the moſt powerful chiefs of the empire, after a day of action, aſſiſt in kindling a fire to keep himſelf warm during the night, and ſitting on the ground on a ſpread ſaddle-cloth, dictating to his ſecretaries, and otherwiſe diſcharging the political duties of his ſtation. This primæval plainneſs operates upon the whole people. There is no diſtinction of ſentiment to be diſcerned: the prince and his domeſtic think exactly in the ſame way, and expreſs themſelves in the ſame terms. There appears but one level of character, without any mixture of ardour or enthuſiaſm; a circumſtance the more ſurpriſing, conſidering the great exploits they have achieved. But their ſimplicity of manners, uncorrupted by ſucceſs, their courteſy to ſtrangers, their unaffected politeneſs and eaſineſs of acceſs, muſt render them dear to every perſon that has had a commerce with them. Such a character, when contraſted with the inſidiouſneſs of the Bramin, and the haughtineſs of the Mhogle, riſes as ſuperior to them, as candour and plainneſs are to duplicity and deceit, or real greatneſs to barbarous oſtentation.

The Marattas are, generally ſpeaking, an unlettered people: this circumſtance obliges them to employ Bramins in moſt of the departments of government and finance: theſe, from being the ſervants, are now become the maſters in every Durbar. The Maratta aſcendancy is no more, the original head

head of the empire is a priſoner at Sattarah, and the government is now managed by a cabal of Bramins in Poona. It muſt however be acknowledged, that theſe latter are admirably qualified for public buſineſs. Their eaſineſs of manners, ſpecious politeneſs, the verſatility of their genius, readineſs of apprehenſion, and, above all, their aſtoniſhing equanimity of temper, point them out as eminently fitted for diplomatic buſineſs. This is however the beſt ſide of their character: in other particulars, they are deſtitute of every ſhadow of candour or of truth; loſt to every feeling of ſocial charity, unacquainted with gratitude even by name, the ſlaves of avarice; and, in one word, ſtrangers to every ſentiment that can ennoble the human mind.

It is a generally received opinion, that the Bramins poſſeſs an unbounded influence over the minds of the people. This ſuppoſition I have every reaſon to believe erroneous:—I can declare I could never diſcover any aſcendancy of that kind. I have known them frequently puniſhed very ſeverely as delinquents, ſome even put to death, by order of the prince. 'Tis true the blood of a Bramin is never ſhed, but they are diſpatched by other means. The late Tuckojee Holkar, who was a Maratta, put his miniſter (a Bramin) to death, by wrapping him in clothes ſteeped in oil, and ſetting fire to them. The moſt common mode is, to keep the limbs immerged in cold water until they ſwell, which carries the party off in a few days. Inferior perſons are puniſhed in various manners. Cutting off the noſe and ears is commonly practiſed; but when death is inflicted, the criminal is ſometimes dragged at an elephant's foot till he expires. Another mode is, to put the priſoner's head into a large bag, and pound it with a mallet uſed for driving home the tent-pegs; but the moſt univerſal way is, to cut off the arms and legs of the delinquent, and leave him to languiſh in the jungle until he dies. Executioners are low-caſt people, who are employed in carrying the large camp enſigns; the operation is generally performed with a com-

a common country razor, which muſt produce the moſt excruciating pain. When a man has been a ſpectator of a puniſhment of this kind, I think he ought to heſitate a little before he ſubſcribes to the popular opinion, " that the Hindoo is not a ſanguinary character."

Judging from the preſent aſpect of things, I conceive it to be erroneous to conſider the Bramin in the light of a mere eccleſiaſtic. Doubtleſs there was a time when this order devoted themſelves entirely to the miniſtry of religion; but this period of priſtine purity is paſt, and at preſent the Bramin is indifferently a merchant, a banker, or a ſoldier. The only known eccleſiaſtic which I have heard of among the Hindoos, is a character called a *Gooroo*; and ſuch of this order as I have met with, were not of the Bramin, but of the *Byrag* caſt.

Perhaps the moſt amiable part of the Bramin character is their great toleration in reſpect to religious opinions; a particular feature of their caſt, which every perſon acquainted with their manners has noticed. This is perfectly their ſentiment: A Hindoo cannot conceive the poſſibility of a rational being purſuing and deſtroying his fellow-creature, merely to eſtabliſh a certain ſpeculative point of doctrine. In Poona, which is the metropolis of the empire, and the ſeat of Braminical authority, there are many moſques, and one Chriſtian church, where the votaries of both religions may offer up their devotions without any hinderance or moleſtation. What a noble example of moderation is this, eſpecially when contraſted with the bigotted and ſanguinary principles of Chriſtian and Mahomedan zealots! Some cauſes however have conſpired to produce this freedom of opinion, independent of natural ſentiment. For many centuries the Hindoos were in a ſtate of ſubjugation to their Mahomedan conquerors, and their own religion juſt barely tolerated. The magnificence, ſplendour, and authority of the emperors, impreſſed upon the Hindoo people a high idea of Muſſulman ſuperiority; a ſentiment

timent they have never been able to get the better of, even in their preſent ſtate of political emancipation. They would therefore conſider it a degree of profanation to interrupt the particular worſhip of a people they have been for ages accuſtomed to look up to with awe and reſpect. The ſame opinion holds good with regard to Europeans: I ſuppoſe no outrage could tempt the natives to offer any injury to the perſon of a white man: nor is it till after a repetition of follies and exceſſes, that they loſe that veneration and reverence with which they contemplate the European character. The force of prejudice may go a great way in eſtabliſhing this general toleration; for certainly the diviſion of caſts into ſeparate tribes of eternal incommunication, carries on the face of it a ſtrong appearance of ſpiritual pride. It is however worthy of remark, that the ſame indifference to religious diſtinctions obtained among the ancient Greeks and Romans, who, like the preſent Hindoos, believed in the multiplicity of deities, and appears to be one ſtriking feature of the doctrine of polytheiſm.

It has already been obſerved, that, a very few years back, the Maratta name, as of a people, was unknown, notwithſtanding their preſent importance even in the ſcale of European politics. Guthrie, in his Grammar, publiſhed in the year 1764, thus deſcribes their geographical ſituation: "The Marattas," ſays he, "are a kind of mercenaries, inhabiting the mountains between India and Perſia." The very reverſe of this is the caſe: the Marattas are a ſouthern people, their original country is the provinces of Candeiſh and Baglana, in the Decan, extending towards the north-weſt as far as Guzurat and the river Nerbudda. Here commence the people called the Gracias and Beels, and you will ſcarcely ever ſee an original Maratta a reſident farther north. To the weſt, their country extends along the ſea-coaſt from Surat to Kanara, forming that narrow ſtrip of land called the Kokan. On the ſouth, Tippoo's dominions form the boundary, whoſe origi-

nal

nal inhabitants are of the Telingana caſt. The Nizam's territories form the eaſtern frontier, peopled alſo by the Telinganas, an entirely different race, both in language and character. The original Maratta ſtate is compriſed within the above-mentioned boundaries; a country of great natural ſtrength, interſperſed with mountains and defiles, all of which are defended by fortreſſes, that are reſerved as depots for treaſure, or as retreats in the event of ill ſucceſs or defeat. Perhaps no country on earth is better calculated for the purpoſes of defenſive war; ſo that, whatever be the fortune of the Marattas in the field, we may ſafely pronounce that in their own country they will always be impregnable. I have counted in a day's march through Candeiſh, nearly twenty killas, all in ſight, in different directions: Chandore, Unky Tunky, Saler Rouler, Naſſick Trimmuc, Golna, and Mongy Tongy, are all places of this deſcription. A country ſo ſtrongly ſituated is unconquerable; and of this truth the Emperor Aurungzebe, who made ſome attempts to ſubjugate it, appeared latterly to be convinced; for when acting in the Deckan, in the utmoſt plenitude of his power, he thought it more prudent to ſubmit to the depredations of Sevajee, the great founder of the Maratta empire, than attempt the purſuit, through a mountainous country, of a fugitive army, that he might poſſibly diſperſe, but could never defeat. Yet theſe were the people, then apparently inconſiderable, that were deſtined by Providence to overturn the empire he was labouring to extend; who, iſſuing from their mountains and vallies, have, in leſs than a century, levelled to its baſe the whole fabric of Mahomedan greatneſs, and erected for themſelves an independent government, on the ruins of an empire of ſeven hundred years duration:—perhaps ſuch a ſudden acceſſion of dominion from ſo obſcure an origin, is without a parallel in the annals of mankind. About thirty-five years ago the Marattas were ſtrong enough to contend with the Muſſulmans for the ſupreme dominion of Hindooſtan. At the famous battle of Panniput,

the collective ſtrength of both parties conteſted for the empire. The Marattas were defeated, but they were neither diſperſed nor ſubdued. Their ſteady policy moving progreſſively to its grand object of univerſal domination, was not to be diverted from its courſe by a ſingle overthrow; but by the united force of victory and intrigue, they have annihilated the overgrown government of the emperors, already prepared for the event by its own extent, its diſtractions, and its vices.

It is perhaps owing to this ſplendid career of the Marattas, that ſome authors have been curious to inveſtigate the etymology of the very name of a people ſo extraordinary, and ſo little known. Mr. Holwell, in his account of the political tranſactions of his time, deſcribes them as being deſcended from Raaje Poote tribes, and analyzing the name, finds it compounded of two words—Maha—great, and Rattor, the name of the caſt. Major Rennel, in his excellent Memoir, not liking, I ſuppoſe, this definition, derives their name from a diſtrict called Marat, an argument that he conceives is concluſive. Of theſe two opinions it is not neceſſary to ſay much, as I conceive both to be wrong. Mr. Holwell's hypotheſis evinces a deplorable ignorance of Hindoo inſtitutions; as every perſon, in the leaſt converſant with the ſubject, muſt know that *caſt* cannot be alienated or transferred. In whatever tribe you are born, in that tribe you and your poſterity muſt remain: ſo the idea of one caſt of people being deſcended from another different caſt, is totally incongruous and inadmiſſible. 'Tis true, you may loſe caſt altogether; but then you are degraded to the loweſt ſtation, and, in fact, conſidered as an outcaſt of all ſociety: beſide that there is nothing in appearance to ſupport the ſuppoſition, no ſimilarity of language or manners, no approximation of country; the Marattas being, as was before obſerved, a ſouthern people, whereas the Raaje Pootes inhabit the northern extremity of Hindooſtan. The very exteriors of the two caſts mark them

them of a different origin: the Raaje Poote is remarkable for the grace and dignity of his perſon; the Maratta, on the contrary, is of diminutive ſtature, and, in general, badly made. The very character in which they write is different; the Maratta uſing his own Deckan alphabet; whereas the Raaje Poote uſes the Marwarry or northern character. Of Major Rennel's opinion I can only ſay, I never heard of a diſtrict called Marat, nor can I find it diſcriminated in his own very excellent map. I have alſo never met with any people among the Hindoos, that derive their name as a *Zat*, merely from the ſituation they inhabit: caſt is therefore totally independent of locality, and lies entirely in that artificial climax and diſtribution, which is doubtleſs coeval with the original inſtitutions of the people; and in this arrangement the Raaje Poote holds a very high, and the Maratta a very inferior ſituation. The Maratta appears therefore to be a caſt, ſeparate, independent, and diſtinct from all other tribes: nor can I ſee any more reaſon for inveſtigating their origin or name, than that of the Bramins, Beels, Jats, or any other caſt into which the Hindoo people are ſeparated:—upon the whole, the diſquiſition appears to me both unneceſſary and pedantic.

I know not under what preciſe head to arrange the form of the Maratta government. It is not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a complete monarchy: they have no titled nobility, of conſequence it does not come under the definition of an ariſtocracy: the people have no weight, it is therefore no democracy. It would, perhaps, be beſt deſcribed, by reſembling it to the circles of Germany, as a military republic, compoſed of chiefs independent of each other; acknowledging, as their ſupreme head, the Paiſhwa, who is himſelf the ſuppoſed miniſter of the Sattarah Rajah. Their ſubmiſſion is however, in many particulars, merely nominal. The unfortunate deſcendant of Sevajee, though worſe than a cipher, has, from the mere force of prejudice, ſome occaſional attentions paid him. No

Paiſhwa can be appointed without receiving the *khelat** of inveſtiture from his hands. Whenever the Paiſhwa takes the field in perſon, he muſt previouſly receive an audience of leave from the Rajah. The country circumjacent to Sattarah enjoys an exemption from military depredations of all kinds; and whenever any chief enters this diſtrict, all the enſigns of royalty are laid aſide, and the *nagara*†, or great drum of the empire, ceaſes to beat. Theſe, I believe, form the only marks of attention paid to the nominal head of this powerful government: in other particulars, he is a cloſe priſoner on a very moderate allowance. The preſent Rajah was, ſome few years back, a private ſilladaur, or commander of horſe; but being unfortunately of the blood of Sevajee, on the demiſe of his predeceſſor, he was exalted from a ſituation of happy obſcurity, to the ſplendid miſery of royalty and a priſon.

Every thing reſpecting this extraordinary people becomes an object of curioſity, as they appear a kind of phenomenon in the world of Oriental politics. Their principles of go-

* A khelat, in the ſenſe above mentioned, ſignifies a certain quantity of cloths, delivered from the hand of the Rajah, to the Paiſhwa; which act virtually inveſts and conſtitutes him in his office. This is its operation in tranſactions of importance; and khelats are univerſally given in all Durbars, when officers are appointed to any particular ſituation; and without this public notification the nomination is conſidered as nugatory. In a more general ſenſe, khelats are given from the prince as tokens of eſteem and reſpect for particular perſons: they commonly conſiſt of ſhawls, or very rich cloths; but any thing received from the hands of the chief, as a ring, a necklace, or even a noſegay, is conſidered as a khelat.

† The naggar, or nagara, is a pair of large kettle-drums, carried upon one of the ſtate elephants, and are conſidered as one of the principal inſignia of empire. They always compoſe part of the prince's ſowarry or cavalcade, and immediately precede him on the line of march. In all large forts there are nagaras beaten over the great gateways. They are ſometimes given as a ſuperior mark of diſtinction, to particular officers who have ſignalized themſelves, and a ſuitable ſum allowed from the Sircar to maintain the dignity.

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vernment excite our attention, as they diſcover a mode of thinking and acting totally different from the regular ſyſtem of European policy. The very local arrangements of empire are peculiar, the territory of the different chiefs being blended and interſperſed with each other; part of the Paiſhwa's dominions being on the ſea-coaſt, and others to the northward of Delhi. It is alſo no uncommon thing for a purgunnah, ſometimes a ſingle town, to belong to two or three different chiefs: ſome are even the joint property of the Paiſhwa and the Nizam. A diſpoſition ſo chequered, ſtrikes me as having a tendency to weaken the combined ſtrength of the whole; but whether this be the effect of policy or accident, I confeſs I cannot determine.

The Paiſhwa, though the acknowledged head of the empire, has but very little territory in his own hands; the Soubadarry of Amedabad, which is worth about ſixty lacks a year, being the largeſt diſtrict he poſſeſſes. Some of the great perſonages of the Poona Sircar hold jaggires from the ſtate by right of office, and independent of the Paiſhwa, that are very valuable. That lately held by Purſeram Bow was worth thirty lacks annually. Raſtia, Foncia, or, as he is termed, the Topekonka-wallow (an office correſponding with our maſter-general of ordnance), Firkia, and many others, have very conſiderable revenues; but the mere landed income in the hands of the Paiſhwa is very trifling: his reſources depend on the contributions of the other members of the empire, which, every thing included, do not exceed four crores of rupees a year.

In the great Durbar of Poona all the higher offices are hereditary. The *Dewan**, *Furnaveſe*, *Chitnaveſe*, and even

* The Dewan, miniſter; Furnaveſe, chancellor of the exchequer. Chitnaveſe: the office of chitnaveſe is to read all letters or petitions which are preſented to the prince, and anſwers exactly to an officer in the Mhogle Durbars, called the *ars-beg*, or lord of requeſts. Excepting the Dewan, none of theſe ſituations exiſt in the inferior courts.

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the commander in chief, or holder of the *jerry put**, are all ſituations held by deſcent; and ſo much is this rule adverted to, that no Paiſhwa has ever preſumed to invade it. This cuſtom however does not obtain in the inferior Durbars.

It is one peculiar feature of the Maratta government, that the empire always conſiders itſelf as in a ſtate of war. This circumſtance entirely reſults from the unſettled and fluctuating ſtate of the internal government; their recent acquiſitions in Hindooſtan, held only by the ſword, and the neceſſity they are under of compelling the payment of the chout, always given with reluctance, and frequently extorted by actual force: but independent of theſe motives, war is with them a ſource of revenue, as the different chiefs of the empire make annual campaigns, in the few diſtricts which have not yet been brought to a ſtate of ſubjection or actual ſervitude. Theſe military excurſions are denominated Mul'uk Gheré, a compound of two Perſian words, *mul'uk*, territory; and *gheré*, to take poſſeſſion of.

This eternal warfare is natually the cauſe of an enormous expenſe, to ſupply which, the Marattas have many modes of finance; but the moſt prevailing one is that of anticipating their landed revenues. It is unneceſſary to enlarge on the defects of a ſyſtem ſo obviouſly deſperate. Theſe mortgages upon the territorial income are negotiated by wealthy Soucars (between whom and the miniſter there always exiſts a proper underſtanding), and frequently at a diſcount of thirty per cent. and then paid in the moſt depreciated ſpecie†.

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* The jerry put is a ſmall ſtandard, made of cloth of gold, or, as it is called, *jarre:* it is cut ſwallow-tailed, and does not exceed the ſize of a common handkerchief. This is the enſign of the empire, and is never diſplayed but when the Paiſhwa takes the field in perſon.

† Depreciated ſpecie—Hindooſtan produces a great variety of rupees, generally differing in value from each other: every rupee is ſuppoſed to be worth 16 annas, each anna containing 4 pice; ſo that the rupee is eſtimated at 64 pice. The Pondicherry rupee however is allowed to be

This ruinous method of raiſing the ſupplies ſprings entirely from the unſtable and unſettled ſtate of the country, which makes government prefer an actual certain ſum in their hands, though at the moſt enormous uſury, to the poſſible receipt of a precarious revenue, at the expiration of three or four years, to which extent they are frequently anticipated. In ſuch diſtricts as remain in the management of the Sircar, the taxes are raiſed according to uſages of the higheſt antiquity; but generally very moderate: the duties on common commodities, on a groſs eſtimate, never exceeding five per cent. except that on ghee, which is ſaid to be fifty. The revenue reſulting from the proprietary right to the ſoil, which is one half of the produce, the chout paid by the Nizam, and the plunder raiſed by Mul'uk Gheré, form the grand pecuniary reſources of the Maratta empire: but theſe, though amounting

worth 84, whereas the Guzurat rupee is not changed for 50 pice in the bazars: the ſame difference in value exiſts in the Aſhrofee of gold mhor. The old Delhi gold mhor changes for 16 ſilver rupees; the common one ſtruck at Poona will only bring 13 rupees; and this valuation fluctuates very much, according to the want or plenty of gold and ſilver. This circumſtance lays the public open to a variety of impoſitions, as a combination of Shroffs can at any time create a ſcarcity of gold or ſilver, as beſt ſuits their purpoſes. The hoon, or pagoda, is a coin not current in the Maratta territories; but is, notwithſtanding, occaſionally iſſued in payments: its eſtimated value is 3 rupees 12 annas; its real value as bullion not 3 rupees. Of theſe coins there are a very great variety; the Maſulipatnam pagoda is the beſt, and that which obtains in the Carnatic by far the worſt I have ever ſeen. It is no uncommon thing for the coins current in one town to have no circulation in the next: this is neceſſarily the ſource of uncommon inconvenience, which however the native powers have never endeavoured to remedy. It is altogether occaſioned by every chief having a tockſaul, or mint, of his own. All coins however are ſtruck in the emperor's name—a ſtrong inſtance of the force of prejudice. In money negotiations with the Sircar, it is ſometimes ſpecified, that the lender is to be allowed 18 annas for every rupee. In theſe payments the leaſt valuable coins are iſſued at the higheſt value; and this is what is meant by the loan being given in the moſt depreciated ſpecie.

to an immenſe annual ſum, are far ſhort of their current expenſes. The conquered country in Hindooſtan, exhauſted by continual depredations, is no longer able to furniſh a rupee. The entire wealth of this once rich country is buried in the private treaſuries of the different Maratta chiefs, and loſt to all the purpoſes of circulation. So great is the ſcarcity of ſpecie in the upper provinces, that for theſe two years paſt Scindia has been obliged to extort money from the Poona government for the payment of his immenſe armies in Hindooſtan.

In the different governments of the native powers, as in moſt deſpotic ones, the prince, unleſs he poſſeſs very great talents, is merely a cipher; the Dewan, or miniſter, has all authority in his hands. This office is univerſally beſtowed upon the perſon who gives the greateſt *nuzzir**, or, more properly ſpeaking, can furniſh a fund to anſwer ſome particular exigency of the ſtate; for an inability to ſupply money for current expenſes is always ſure to diſplace a miniſter. The prince having taken the bribe, often amounting to many lacks of rupees, the object of the purchaſer, upon entering upon office, is to reimburſe himſelf. Here the great door to corruption is thrown open; every office is ſet up to auction, and knocked down to the higheſt bidder, without regarding any qualification but the price. Every ſituation, *Komiſdaurs* †, *Killadaurs*, *Petels*, are diſpoſed of in public market. No check can be given to conſequential peculation. He that ſhould puniſh the delinquent has himſelf ſet the example, and

* Nuzzir—A nuzzir is properly an offering from an inferior to his ſuperior, and may conſiſt of money, or any other article:—in a more particular ſenſe, it ſignifies a certain ſum of money (ſeldom more than 5 rupees) preſented by the ſervants of the Sircar to the prince, either upon entering his ſervice, or other occaſions. Preſents are frequently ſent from chiefs of equal rank; but theſe are never conſidered as nuzzirs, as that would imply an idea of inferiority or dependence.

† Komiſdaur, the receiver-general of a diſtrict. Killadaur, the commandant of a fort. Petel, the principal officer of a village.

is equally implicated in the guilt. The very man that has bought his office is not certain of holding it a year: this conſideration gives an additional keenneſs to his avarice, until it gets whetted to the higheſt degree of exacerbation: he extorts from the unfortunate *Reyot** the product of his labour, without "one compunctious viſiting of nature," and plunders without mercy the very ſubject it is his duty to protect. If this tyrant be removed, the evil is by no means removed along with him; for his ſucceſſor, if he buys his office (and on no other terms will he get it), will moſt certainly be equally rapacious and unprincipled.

It is from ſome cauſes of this kind that the bulk of the people are almoſt totally without property. Few under a Maratta government have opportunities of acquiring wealth, except the powerful Bramins who hold offices in the Durbar. Their avarice is inſatiable; and if ever the madneſs of accumulation was marked with the higheſt degree of folly, it is in the preſent inſtance; for though the Bramin may be permitted to go on even for years in every practice of extortion, at laſt his wealth excites the attention of the prince; he is then obliged to diſgorge, and perhaps ordered to a killa for life. If he happen to die while in office, his property is generally ſequeſtered by the Sircar; but in this caſe his family is provided for either by a penſion or otherwiſe, and the cuſtom of plunder (which is called *goonagaré*†) forms one very conſiderable part of the contingent revenue.

Upon the whole, I believe there is not upon record an example of any government ſo little calculated to give protection to the ſubject as the fluctuating and unſteady ſyſtem of the Marattas: an adminiſtration formed of rapacity, corruption,

* Reyot, a huſbandman; the tiller of the ground.

† Goonagaré:—this is a compound word, formed of goona, a crime, and garé, a penalty: generally ſpeaking, it ſignifies a mulct or fine, the amount of which is arbitrary.

and inſtability, promiſes but little hopes of domeſtic happineſs or public ſecurity. To this grand ſource may be aſcribed the accumulated miſery of the people; oppreſſion, poverty, and famine; which laſt appears the appropriated curſe of this country. When we reflect on the great fertility of Hindooſtan in general, it is amazing to conſider the frequency of this dreadful viſitation. As this is evidently not owing to any ſterility of ſoil or climate, ſince there are many ſeaſons that produce two and three crops, the evil muſt be ſought for in ſome political cauſe, and it requires but very little penetration to diſcover it in the avarice and extortion of the various governments. In a country ſuch as this, where revolutions are ſo common, the great ſpur to induſtry, that of ſecurity, is taken away: the Reyot, who cultivates his grounds this year, is by no means ſure of poſſeſſing them the next, or if he ſhould, it is highly probable that in a government that holds its ſupremacy only by the ſword, ſome large detachment may be quartered in his neighbourhood; than which a greater blow cannot be given to induſtry; for a Maratta army are more indefatigable and deſtructive than myriads of locuſts. The property of friends or enemies falls equally a prey to their undiſtinguiſhing depredations. Hence it is that no man raiſes more than barely ſerves him, and the produce of the year is juſt equivalent to its conſumption. The conſequence is, as there are no public ſtores or granaries, that the firſt ſcarcity of rain, or too great a fall of it, produces a famine: the inhabitants abandon their fields, and either fly to the coaſt, or to ſome other place, where the ſcarcity has prevailed leſs: this new acceſſion of people produces a famine there, and the evil becomes univerſal. It is at this period that the traveller beholds the greateſt of all human miſeries: hunger, nakedneſs, diſeaſe, and death, which in this caſe is the extreme of mercy: the ſtreet ſtrewed with carcaſes, the highways with ſkeletons, and every countenance the picture of miſery, wretchedneſs, and deſpair. It is owing to the frequency

quency of this dreadful calamity, that the Hindoos are total ſtrangers to charity, and poſſeſs an inſenſibility of heart with which other nations are unacquainted. The feelings get ſteeled by a repetition of diſtreſs, eſpecially in a people whoſe ruling paſſion is avarice. A Hindoo will ſee his own brother expire before him with the moſt phlegmatic compoſure.—Perhaps the man who has beheld his whole family die around him, without exciting one ſentiment of compaſſion in his fellow-beings, will, when the returning evils come again, find his heart hardened againſt mankind from a recollection of their barbarity, rather than ſoftened into pity by a knowledge of their diſtreſs. Such is the effect of famine upon morals; but I believe it has never produced one rebellion againſt the government, that for the moſt part occaſions it. The Hindoo has but few paſſions, he conſiders misfortune as his fate, and ſubmits without a ſtruggle.

It is alſo owing to famine, and its concomitant depopulations, that India is ſo thinly inhabited. I believe it may be ſafely aſſerted, that through the whole country (Bengal perhaps excepted), one acre in fifty is not cultivated; and the quantity of tilled land will always bear a proportion to the number of people to be maintained by it. It is no uncommon circumſtance for large cities, in the time of famine, to loſe three-fourths of their inhabitants, and the country ſuffers in the ſame degree; frequently whole diſtricts are ſwept away, and for years remain a jungle, notwithſtanding the climate is ſo favourable to population. Upon the whole, what between an indolence in the people, and a rapacity in the government, famine appears to be the prime curſe of this country; yet, incredible as it may ſeem, no proviſions are ever made againſt it; but that the fault is not totally in nature or the natives, may be ſeen by turning to Bengal, which, enjoying a more ſteady and permanent adminiſtration, has not ſuffered by famine, I believe, ſince that which happened in 1770 or 1771,

twenty-ſix years, although every other part of India has been frequently viſited by it ſince that period.

Many methods might be deviſed by an active government, intereſted in the welfare of its community, to prevent the poſſibility of a famine, even in the worſt of times. There is perhaps no country on earth ſo interſected with rivers as Hindooſtan: the Ganges alone, according to Rennel, receives into its bed eleven rivers all larger than the Rhine. The Nerbudda, Tapty, Kiſtna, and Godovery, falling upon both ſides of the peninſula, carry in themſelves, if properly managed, inexhauſtible ſources of plenty. In the hands of an European, what canals, what ducts would not be cut, to promote a general diſtribution of water? but here ſcarce any attempts of this kind have been made; ſo that every drop of water that diſembogues itſelf into the ſea, is loſt to all the purpoſes of fertilization. But diſpenſing with great and laborious undertakings, there are many ways, which, if attempted, might poſſibly contribute to mitigate the dreadful effects of famine. In the cold ſeaſon the earth is often ſufficiently ſaturated with the heavy nightly dews, and might, if the experiment were made, produce certain kinds of dry grain, probably without the aſſiſtance of rain. Potatoes, carrots, and other roots, require but little moiſture, and might perhaps be cultivated with ſucceſs: on the coaſt too the ſea is an inexhauſtible ſtore of proviſions: this ſpeculation may appear viſionary, but it is worthy of experiment. In one word, preſuppoſing economy on the ſide of government, and induſtry on the part of the inhabitant, a famine might be a ſcourge unknown to this country: but after all, it is highly probable that the beſt-intended plans would be ineffectual: not only natural cauſes, but incurable prejudices, impede every effort towards improvement. The Hindoo is naturally averſe to innovation. His religious creed conſiſts in a great meaſure in reſtrictions reſpecting his eating; and to theſe he adheres with the moſt ſuperſtitious infatuation, nor could famine

mine itſelf induce him to taſte of forbidden food. Perhaps there is no principle of the human mind ſo ſtrongly rooted, as that which attaches itſelf merely to our palate; which prompts us to reject with diſguſt and abhorrence certain kinds of food, for which we can aſſign no reaſon but the effects of early prejudice: this is the foundation of the Hindoo ſyſtem, which has ſuffered leſs by time and circumſtance than any other in the ancient or modern world; as it is highly probable that the religion of Bramah is nearly the ſame this day as it was at the invaſion of Alexander.

But to return from this long digreſſion: it has already been obſerved, that the Maratta empire always conſiders itſelf as in a ſtate of actual war. On the feſtival of the Duſſera, which takes place after the concluſion of the north-weſt monſoon, the jhoonda, or the great enſign of the prince, is hoiſted; the royal tents are pitched, and a camp is immediately formed. The operations of the enſuing year are now determined on, whether to act againſt an open enemy, to collect the permanent revenue or chout, or to go on Mul'uk Gheré. The countries ſubjected to theſe depredations are thoſe of the Jyepoor Rajah, the Marwarry, and the north end of the peninſula of Guzurat, near the gulf of Cutch: the remainder of Hindooſtan is now entirely ſubjugated, and forms a part of the empire.

Whenever the united force of the whole Maratta confederacy is in the field, as was lately the caſe in the war with the Nizam, in the year 1794, the Paiſhwa commands in perſon. On theſe occaſions the army is divided into three great bodies, each of them diſtinguiſhed by different names and ſituations. The advanced army, in which the whole of the infantry is included, is called the *cherry fodge*, or light troops: this party is under the orders of the holder of the jerry put; though every chief commands his own diſtinct army. The centre diviſion, which is called the *beech laſhkar*, is conſidered as a body of reſerve, and is unencumbered with unneceſſary equip-

age or artillery. The rear army, in which the Paiſhwa commands, is termed the *boonga*, and has in charge the grand park or *jenſa*, and all the baggage of the whole army.

The Marattas never come to action without having firſt endeavoured to negotiate; and if the buſineſs can poſſibly be ſettled by the purſe, they always prefer it. They even very rarely engage when they come in ſight of the enemy; but, unleſs attacked, will remain in their camp many days: during this time they haraſs their adverſaries by cutting off forage and ſupplies, and deſtroying the circumjacent country; and never, except in the laſt extremity, come to cloſe action.

The chief military force of the Marattas conſiſts in their cavalry, which may be divided into four diſtinct claſſes:—Firſt, the *kaſſey pagah*, or houſehold forces of the prince: theſe are always a fine well-appointed body, the horſes excellent, being the property of the Sircar, who give a monthly allowance to the trooper, to the value of about eight rupees: this ſpecies of horſemen are called *baugeers*.—The ſecond claſs are the cavalry furniſhed by the *ſilladaurs** (literally armour-bearers), who make kowle, or contract with the Sircar to ſupply a certain number of horſe upon ſuch terms as they can agree on, generally about thirty-five rupees a month, the trooper's pay included. The third, and moſt numerous deſcription, are volunteers, who join the camp, bringing with them their own horſe and accoutrements: their pay is generally from forty to fifty rupees per month, moſtly in proportion to the value of their horſe. There is a fourth kind of native cavalry, called pindarins, who are mere marauders, ſerve without any pay, and ſubſiſt but by plunder, a fourth

* Silladaur.—I apprehend, from the meaning of this term, that it was formerly the cuſtom of the nation, as was the caſe in Europe, to appear in armour. I have frequently ſeen a kind of coat of mail worn by the Maratta horſemen, which they call a beuta, and reſembles our ancient hauberk: it is made of chain-work, interlinked throughout, fits cloſe to the body, and adapts itſelf to all its motions.

part

part of which they give to the Sircar: but theſe are ſo very licentious a body, that they are not employed but in one or two of the Maratta ſervices.

The army collected in this manner are under no diſcipline whatever, engage for no ſpecific length of ſervice, but quit it whenever they pleaſe: they do no duty but in the day of battle, except furniſhing a picket while in camp, which is called *ſhabeena*, and of which I ſhall ſpeak more fully hereafter.

The Maratta cavalry is always irregularly and badly paid; the baugeer, who belongs to the Sircar, ſcarcely ever receives money, but is furniſhed with a daily allowance of coarſe flour, and ſome other ingredients from the bazar, which juſt enables him to exiſt. The ſilladaur is very nearly as badly ſituated. In his arrangements with the ſtate, he has allotted to him a certain proportion of jungle, where he paſtures his cattle: here he and his family reſide; and his ſole occupation, when not on actual ſervice, it increaſing his pagah or troop, by breeding out of his mares, of which the Maratta cavalry almoſt entirely conſiſt. There are no people in the world who underſtand the method of rearing and multiplying the breed of cattle equal to the Marattas. It is by no means uncommon for a ſilladaur to enter the ſervice with one mare, and in a few years be able to muſter a very reſpectable pagah. They have many methods of rendering the animal prolific: they back their colts much earlier than we do, and are conſequently more valuable as they come ſooner on the effective ſtrength. I do not know, however, whether they attempt to improve the breed of their horſes by croſſing the ſtrain, as we practiſe in Europe. It is this perſevering induſtry and conſummate knowledge which is the true cauſe of the immenſe bodies of cavalry that the Maratta ſtates can bring into the field; a circumſtance that has occaſioned ſurpriſe in many, who have been at a loſs to conjecture from whence ſuch hoſts could proceed. Independent, however, of this, there are great numbers

numbers of horſes brought from Candahar and Thibet, and ſold at the annual fairs in many parts of Hindooſtan; but theſe make a very ſmall proportion in the groſs ſtrength of the Maratta armies.

When called upon for actual ſervice, the ſilladaur is obliged to give muſter. Upon this occaſion it is always neceſſary that the Bramin who takes it ſhould have a bribe; and indeed the *hazree*, as the muſter is termed, is of ſuch a nature, that it could not paſs by any fair or honourable means. Not only any deſpicable tatoos are ſubſtituted in the place of horſes, but animals are borrowed to fill up the complement. Heel-ropes and grain-bags are produced as belonging to cattle ſuppoſed to be at graſs: in ſhort, every mode is practiſed to impoſe on the Sircar, which, in return, reimburſes itſelf by irregular and bad payments: for it is always conſidered, if the ſilladaurs receive ſix months' arrears out of the year, they are exceedingly well paid.—The volunteers who join the camp are ſtill worſe ſituated, as they have no collective force, and money is very ſeldom given in a Maratta Sircar without being extorted. In one word, the native cavalry are the worſt paid body of troops in the world.

But there is another grand error in this mode of raiſing troops, which is productive of the worſt effects. Every man in a Maratta camp is totally independent: he is the proprietor of the horſe he rides, which he is never inclinable to riſk, ſince without it he can get no ſervice. This ſingle circumſtance deſtroys all enterpriſe and ſpirit in the ſoldier, whoſe ſole buſineſs, inſtead of being deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, is to keep out of the way of danger: for notwithſtanding every horſeman, on entering a ſervice, has a certain value put upon his horſe, yet ſhould he loſe it even in action, he never receives any compenſation, or at leaſt none proportioned to his loſs. If at any time a ſilladaur is diſguſted with the ſervice, he can go away without meeting any moleſtation, even though in the face of an enemy. In fact,

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the pay is in general ſo ſhamefully irregular, that a man is juſtified in reſorting to any meaſure, however apparently unbecoming, to attain it. It is alſo another very curious circumſtance attending this ſervice, that many great ſilladaurs have troops in the pay of two or three chiefs at the ſame time, who are frequently at open war with each other.

To recover an arrear of pay, there is but one known mode, which is univerſally adopted in all native ſervices, the Mhogle as well as the Maratta: this is called *dherna*, which conſiſts in putting the debtor, be he who he will, into a ſtate of reſtraint or impriſonment, until ſatisfaction be given, or the money actually obtained. Any perſon in the Sircar's ſervice has a right to demand his pay of the prince or his miniſter, and to ſit in dherna if it be not given: nor will he meet with the leaſt hinderance in doing ſo; for no one would obey an order that interfered with the dherna, as it is a common cauſe: nor does the ſoldier incur the ſlighteſt charge of mutiny for his conduct, or ſuffer in the ſmalleſt manner in the opinion of his chief; ſo univerſal is the cuſtom.

The dherna is ſometimes carried to very violent lengths, and may be executed on the prince or his miniſter indifferently: however, the effect is the ſame; as the chief always makes it a point of honour, not to eat or drink while his Dewan is in dureſs. Sometimes the dherna laſts for many days, during which time the party upon whom it is exerciſed is not ſuffered to eat or drink, or waſh or pray, and, in ſhort, is not permitted to move from the ſpot where he ſits, which is frequently bare-headed in the ſun, until the money or ſecurity be given. So general is this mode of recovery, that I ſuppoſe the Maratta chiefs may be ſaid to be nearly one half of their time in a ſtate of dherna.

There are other modes of dherna, beſide the one deſcribed above, which may be put in practice either for the recovery of property or character. I will mention two other methods. The firſt is thus: the creditor goes to the door of

his debtor, and demands payment or ſecurity; which if not given, he ſtands up in his preſence, with an enormous weight upon his head, which he brings with him for the purpoſe; ſwearing never to alter his poſition until ſatisfaction be given: denouncing at the ſame time the moſt horrible execrations on his debtor, ſhould he ſuffer him to expire in that ſituation. This ſeldom fails to produce the deſired effect; but ſhould he actually die while in dherna, the debtor's houſe is razed from the earth, and he and his family ſold for the ſatisfaction of the creditor's heirs.

There is another mode of dherna ſtill more deſperate, but I believe not often recurred to: this is called *raiſing a koor*; which conſiſts in erecting a large pile of wood before the houſe of the debtor, and after the cuſtomary application has been refuſed, the party ties on the top of the pile a cow or calf, or very frequently an old woman, generally his mother or other relation; ſwearing at the ſame time to ſet fire to it, if ſatisfaction be not inſtantly given: the old woman all the time denounces the bittereſt curſes, threatening to perſecute the wretched debtor, both here and hereafter. I apprehend this dreadful practice is ſeldom carried to the extreme: it obtains principally in Hindooſtan, and I believe it has never found its way into the Deckan. Theſe modes are the only known ones to recover a debt, as the Marattas have no idea of civil or criminal juriſprudence.

I ſhall now offer ſome obſervations on the ſtate of the Maratta armies as far as reſpects their foot eſtabliſhments. In the various Maratta ſervices there are very little more than a bare majority who are Marattas by caſt; and very few inſtances occur of their ever entering into the infantry at all. The Sepoys in the pay of the different princes are recruited in Hindooſtan, and principally of the Raaje Poote and Purvia caſt. Theſe are, perhaps, the fineſt race of men in the world, for figure and appearance; of lofty ſtature, ſtrong, graceful, and athletic; of acute feelings, high military pride; quick, apprehenſive,

apprehenſive, brave, prudent, and economic: at the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, they are impatient of diſcipline, naturally inclined to mutiny, and, like other Hindoos, are incapable of gratitude or affection. They are mere ſoldiers of fortune, and ſerve only for their pay: they migrate from Hindooſtan to the Deckan for ſervice, where they are called *purdaſies*, or ſtrangers: they have no idea of patriotiſm or love of their country, but would plunder their native village without a pang.

There are alſo a great number of Muſſulmans, who ſerve in the different Maratta armies, ſome of whom have very great commands. Theſe, from their intercourſe with the Hindoos, have inſenſibly acquired a degree of politeneſs and urbanity, which is not otherwiſe natural to their character; and ſo conciliating are the Maratta manners, that the moſt bigotted of the Mahomedans in a very little time prefer this government to their own; and imperceptibly throw off that inſolence and hauteur, which renders them elſewhere the objects of contempt and abhorrence to every one who has a commerce with them.

The infantry in the ſervice of the Maratta ſtates are very inconſiderable, and, excepting Scindea's brigades, are a burleſque on every thing military. The late Mahajee Scindea was the only chief of the empire who effectually raiſed a body of foot upon the European ſyſtem. He was a man of the moſt enlarged mind, and his ambition was equal to his abilities. At the period of his returning to the Deckan in 1791, he was actually Vizier to the Emperor, and came to Poona, with the expreſs intention of obtaining the ſituation of Dewan to the Paiſhwa; and had he ſucceeded, he would have poſſeſſed a larger authority than ever was enjoyed by any of the emperors in the fulleſt zenith of their power. A man actuated by views of this extenſive kind, could only think upon the great ſcale, and his ſucceſſes have been anſwerable to the magnitude of the undertaking. He eſtabliſhed foundries

at Agra for the caſting of cannon, made all his own arms, gave encouragement to European officers of merit to enter his ſervice, and, above all, was fortunate enough to meet with De Boigne, his general of infantry; a man of the firſt-rate talents as an officer, and conſummate knowledge as a politician; indefatigable in his purſuits, whether of war or negotiation; whoſe ſplendid abilities, diſplayed upon a noble theatre, increaſed the dominions of Scindea to double their original extent, and created for himſelf a princely fortune, by a ſeries of ſucceſsful and honourable labours. The army raiſed by De Boigne conſiſts of about twenty thouſand regular infantry; ten thouſand nezibs, a ſpecies of troops I ſhall deſcribe hereafter; and about three thouſand trokeſwars, or diſciplined cavalry; an excellent train of artillery, capitally ſupplied; and the whole well paid and appointed. This army has made Scindea the head of the empire, and, in fact, the only chief really formidable in it.

The nezibs are matchlock-men, and, according to their different caſts, are called Allegoles or Rohillas; they are indifferently formed of high caſt Hindoos and Muſſulmans, armed with the country bandook, to which the ingenuity of De Boigne has added a bayonet. They alſo carry a target and ſword, and are men of great intrepidity. When I conſider the bad ſtate of the firelock generally to be met with in the interior, and the excellence of De Boigne's matchlocks, I have very little doubt in my mind of the ſuperiority of the nezib corps, and am almoſt certain they would defeat an equal number of telingas, armed in the wretched manner they generally are. The bandook takes a longer time to load than the firelock, as it is chambered; but then it carries a ball much farther and infinitely truer; and long practice enables the nezibs to load with a readineſs ſufficiently applicable to ordinary ſervice: they are alſo excellent ſwordſmen, and are uſually employed in making a charge upon any appearance of confuſion in the enemy.

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The Rohillas are all Muſſulmans, and generally are fellows of the moſt vile and diſſolute characters: they are, however, men of tried courage, and always reſerved for ſtorming or ſome ſuch deſperate ſervice; they do no other duty whatever, and have not even the ſhadow of diſcipline among them.

This formidable army gave the late Mahajee Scindea ſuch weight and authority in the politics of the empire as was never poſſeſſed by any other chief: but the councils of his ſucceſſor, the preſent Dowlut Row Scindea, appear to fall far ſhort of the wiſdom and dignity of his predeceſſor. Nothing can exhibit a greater picture of confuſion than this Durbar ſince the impriſonment and ſuperſeſſion of Ballajee Tantia the late miniſter: from that time no Dewan has been regularly appointed, and the buſineſs of the Sircar is attempted to be conducted by a junto of ignorant ſycophants, who, from houſehold ſervants and ſlaves, have raiſed themſelves to authority through the youth and inexperience of their maſter. Scindea's yearly expenſes far exceed his revenues: his country, exhauſted and unproductive, is a general ſcene of poverty and oppreſſion, and only wants an able oppoſer to moulder it into nothing: in ſhort, there is but one line of conduct adhered to by that government, which conſiſts in extorting money from the weakneſs of the Poona Sircar for current expenſes. This, though a very great reſource, cannot laſt long; and when all funds are drawn dry, I can ſee no alternative but utter ruin. At preſent his monthly expenſes, for the army of the Deckan alone, is twenty-five lacks of rupees: the troops in Hindooſtan are paid merely by rapine and extortion: he has in himſelf no reſources, no khazanna, nor have his unhappy ſubjects even the ſhadow of a protective government.

Of the other chiefs of the empire, the Bouncela appears in his government the moſt prudent and economic: his dominions are extenſive but compact, nor are they chequered by the poſſeſſions of the other members, as the Maratta territories generally are. He has a large extent of coaſt in the province of Oriſſa,

Oriſſa, which is a great political object; he interferes much leſs in the internal broils of the empire than either Scindea or Holkar, but, concentrated within himſelf, poſſeſſes a certain repulſive force, adequate to the purpoſes of defence; and untinctured by the mania of conqueſt, reſts ſatisfied with his hereditary dominions. Upon the whole, the Bouncela's government promiſes a degree of durability, which cannot rationally be looked for from any other part of the empire. He is the next to Scindea in military ſtrength, retaining in his ſervice about ten thouſand infantry, which it muſt be confeſſed are badly paid and worſe diſciplined; he can however bring a large army of capital horſe into the field, and his wealth in *khazanna* * is immenſe. Still with theſe advantages his general character is that of a weak unprincipled man, without ſpirit or talents.

Holkar is very highly reſpected among the Marattas on account of his family: he poſſeſſes a large extent of country, both in the Deckan and Hindooſtan, and is *Souba* of Malwa, by which title he is moſt generally known. His immediate predeceſſor Malarrow Holkar, dignified in this country by the ſurname of *Great*, was one of the earlieſt adventurers in the Maratta expeditions to the northward, and appears to have poſſeſſed great talents both as a general and ſtateſman. The Soubadaur can bring, on an emergency, about fifty thouſand horſe into the field, and retains in his ſervice near ſix thouſand infantry tolerably well diſciplined and appointed: his affairs have been for ſome years on the decline, partly owing to his

* Khazanna—property, a depoſit of treaſure, whether of money or valuables. Thoſe of princes or wealthy individuals are lodged in hill-forts; but every perſon who can poſſibly do it, accumulates a khazanna, from which no neceſſity can compel him to draw a rupee; a circumſtance that cauſed a great ſcarcity of ſpecie in the interior.

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late conteſt with Scindea, but ſtill more to the internal diſſenſions of his own family*.

The Paiſhwa, though the head of the empire, is by no means ſo powerful as ſome of the inferior members: the ſeat of his government is Poona, in which city centres the principal wealth of the Maratta ſtates. It is little remarkable for any thing but its excellent police, which alone employs many thouſand men. After the firing of the gun, which takes place at ten at night, no perſon can appear in the ſtreets without being taken up by the patroles, and detained priſoner until diſmiſſed in the morning by the Cutwal: ſo ſtrict is the diſcipline obſerved, that the Paiſhwa has himſelf been kept priſoner a whole night for being out at improper hours. The Poona Sircar pays twenty thouſand infantry; but theſe are moſtly upon paper only; the remainder are occupied in preſerving the police of the city, and are by far the moſt deſpicable body in the whole empire, and could not for an inſtant withſtand a regular well-diſciplined battalion: like all civic forces, they are merely trained-bands, and are parcelled out in ſmall bodies called "brauderies" to Bramins, who make a ſubſiſtence by falſe muſters and curtailing the pay. The Paiſhwa's cavalry is more reſpectable, being thoſe furniſhed by the *Maunkarries*†, or original members of the republic, who pay

* The above account was written during the life of the late Tuckojee Holkar: his ſucceſſor, Caſſey Row, has been too ſhort a time on the throne to juſtify any opinion that might be formed of his conduct. He is conſidered as a man of a very weak underſtanding, and totally under the pupilage of his couſin Boppoo Holkar, a daring ambitious ſpirit, who will probably make a tool of him to anſwer his firſt projects.

† The Maunkarries were powerful chiefs in the Deckan, during the Mhogle government; who, revolting from the emperor, and joining the ſtandard of Sevajee, ſerved to lay the foundation of the Maratta empire: they are highly reſpected at the court of Poona, and enjoy many privileges; among which are theſe—the Paiſhwa muſt always riſe to receive one of this order. In pomp and appearance they are upon an equality with the prince; or, in other words, whenever the Paiſhwa mounts his

pay very little reſpect to any perſon but the Sowa Rajah, and never take the field, but when the Paiſhwa goes out himſelf in perſon. Theſe are uſually very badly paid.

Govind Row Guiacquar, or chief of Guzurat, is worth annually one crore of rupees, and can furniſh to the general defence thirty thouſand horſe. Aly Bahauder, the natural brother of the late Paiſhwa, is at preſent over-running the Bundelkund diſtrict; but his ſituation is precarious, and his reſources, of conſequence, are uncertain. Raſtia, Foncia, and Firkia, and ſome others, are merely jaghiredaurs, and can contribute but in a very ſmall proportion. Such is the confederated ſtrength of the empire; preſenting a power that, if properly united, might juſtly excite an alarm. In the year 1794, when the Marattas were at war with the Nizam, their forces in the field in the Deckan alone exceeded two hundred thouſand men.

The Marattas adopt two diſtinct modes in raiſing their infantry: the firſt and beſt is that practiſed by Scindea; in which the military ſtores, guns, arms, and clothing, are all the property of government, the command only reſting with the general; or, in other words, the European plan. But ſome other chiefs, as Holkar, adopt the partiſan ſyſtem; where the whole corps and its appointments are the property of the commander. This plan is equally objectionable with the cavalry, as no officer can be ſuppoſed to do his duty with ſpirit, whoſe property lies in the corps he commands; ſince, ſhould he be defeated, his proſpects are at an end, and the Sircar would never compenſate for his loſs. The infantry, however, in all native ſervices, are paid much better than the cavalry. The pay

his elephant they mount theirs, the ſame with regard to the palankeen and horſe: but ſhould the Paiſhwa, while on his elephant, meet a Maunkarry on horſeback, the latter would not appear to know him. The Maunkarries command almoſt the whole of the cavalry in the Poona Sircar.

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of a Sepoy in Hindooſtan is ſix rupees a month, and in the Deckan, nine.

The Maratta ſtates have of late given the preference to battalions, as they find them cheaper and more effective than the cavalry. The great exploits performed by Scindea, owing altogether to his infantry, have ſerved to encourage the prejudice; but the chief difficulty is to get arms, as they can only be obtained from the ſettlements: theſe however are always procurable at a certain price. The late regulations of the Company, reſpecting the return to Europe of all unſerviceable arms, may for a time prevent the increaſe of native infantry corps, but then it will drive them to the expedient of making their own firelocks, as Scindea has done, and his are very excellent ones, far ſuperior to the ordinary Europe arms to be met with in the bazars. I for my own part very much doubt the policy of the orders in queſtion; and when looked at in every point of view, you will perhaps be of my opinion. In the firſt place, I lay it down as a poſtulatum, that arms will be ſold while a good price is given for them, in defiance of all the regulations that can be made; and if they muſt be diſpoſed of, the Company had better receive the value than any individual. In the next place, the arms purchaſed in the interior are of that deſcription which is denominated unſerviceable, and generally are ſo. In this caſe it is of very little conſequence in whoſe hands they are, ſince, if they are uſeleſs to the Company, who have excellent karkonnas to repair them, they can be of no great uſe to a native power, which has not the ſame means of mending them. Again, the regulation directs that the barrels are to be cut and returned to Europe, which certainly employs a proportion of tonnage that might be more advantageouſly occupied in any other manner. But I will take up the buſineſs upon a broader ſcale, and hazard the aſſertion, however paradoxical it may appear, that it would be for the intereſt of the Company to ſell off all their old arms to the country powers: my reaſons are theſe—If the native princes could get arms, they

would prefer keeping up a foot eſtabliſhment to their preſent very formidable cavalry. In the event of any future war, this would afford the Company's forces many very eminent advantages; it would give them an opportunity of ſooner cloſing with the enemy, and of conſequence prevent that expenſive and ruinous procraſtination which attends a war with the native powers, owing to their great ſuperiority in cavalry, which always avoid coming to cloſe action. In caſe of an irruption into the Company's territories, an army of infantry could not over-run them with that deſtructive rapidity that bodies of horſe can; and in caſe of coming to an engagement, the great advantage of regulars over any corps that can be diſciplined in a native ſtate will always inſure them a decided ſuperiority. This ſpeculation may appear remote in its conſequences, but I am far from thinking it altogether viſionary *.

The tope-konna, or ordnance department, is an office of great truſt and emolument among the Maratta powers. The guns themſelves are tolerably well caſt, but the carriages are in general very clumſily and badly conſtructed; the wheels are made of three thick planks of babool wood, joined together by pins, and turning upon a very ſmall iron axle: when they have been any time in uſe, the friction acting upon the two ſide pieces, which run with the grain of the wood, very ſoon deſtroys their curve; whereas the middle piece, touching the ground only with the extremities, and theſe croſs-grained, reſiſts for a long time the effects of uſe:

* I have purpoſely avoided mentioning one very powerful additional argument to thoſe enforced above, as I wiſhed the whole article to relate merely to the Company's regulations. It is this: The Marattas will find it very eaſy, during peace in Europe, to get ſupplied with arms, either by the French or other neutral powers, as Tippoo has long done: the extent of coaſt they poſſeſs on both ſides of the peninſula offer many opportunities of landing them. Thus an important and advantageous trade may be loſt to Great Britain, and thrown into the hands of our natural and political enemies.

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after a very little ſervice the wheel loſes its original figure, and becomes oval, and of conſequence uſeleſs. A march of a few days ſhakes the carriages to pieces. Of late, however, they have much improved their plan, particularly in thoſe ſervices where Europeans have had any command; and I have occaſionally ſeen guns mounted with great ſtrength and neatneſs in ſome of the Maratta ſervices. The cannon of the native armies are never made of any preciſe calibre, but are caſt indifferently of all diameters, and the ball afterwards adapted to the bore. They never uſe caſt ſhot, but thoſe of wrought iron, hammered to any dimenſions; the many angles, conſequently, on the ſurface of the ſhot, in a very ſmall courſe of ſervice, deſtroy the ſmoothneſs of bore, and they can never be fired with that preciſion that a caſt ball can. Of theſe guns the Marattas always carry with them a uſeleſs and cumberſome train, as they place great confidence in the effects of artillery, though they are totally ignorant of it as a ſcience. They ſometimes throw rockets into the enemy's line, but very ſeldom have recourſe to muſketry, and I ſuppoſe never have uſed the bayonet. The country powder is alſo extremely bad; for notwithſtanding the materials are as good as poſſible, yet they are totally unacquainted with the neceſſary proportions, and injure the compoſition by a number of uſeleſs ingredients.

A Maratta camp is formed without any order or regularity, and always occupies a large extent of ground. The prince's marquee being pitched, the great bazar is opened in front, in which all kinds of merchandiſes are expoſed to ſale, and every art and trade carried on. The chief draws a conſiderable ſum from his bazar, as every bunga or ſhopkeeper pays a certain monthly ſum to the Sircar, and the number of dokauns or ſhops ſometimes amount to thouſands. Every perſon exerciſing a profeſſion muſt pay this *duſtoor*, which is about five rupees per month. The kunchenees, or dancing girls, of which ſome hundreds follow a large camp, are equally ſubjected to

this regulation, as are alſo the ſoodas, or thieves, great numbers of whom accompany the native armies, and are protected by the Sircar upon paying a monthly ſum.

The Dewan's tent is pitched near to the prince's; the other different ſirdars occupy ſuch ſpots as are moſt convenient to them, every one carrying a diſtinct enſign, which ſerves to direct their followers where to join them. Upon the whole, a Maratta camp has a very pictureſque appearance. The equipage of the prince is large and elegant; the other ſirdars have tents reſpectable and convenient, often of diſtinct colours. The different enſigns flying, the extent and richneſs of the bazars, all produce an agreeable effect on the mind of an European. The number of followers is immenſe in the native armies, at leaſt three to one fighting man.

The grand park, or, as it is called, the jenſa, is a diſtinct department, and always occupies a ſeparate ſpot, generally on one of the flanks; the infantry alſo pitch by themſelves, and uniformly in front. The cavalry obſerve, while actually on ſervice, a moſt excellent diſcipline: they furniſh all pickets, being ſent in large bodies in different directions; and as they are very alert, and on duty night and day, I think it would be next to impoſſible to ſurpriſe a Maratta camp. Theſe detached ſquadrons are called the ſhabeenah.

The public affairs never ſuffer any interruption from the prince being in the field: there is a durbar held at the dewry, or ſtate tent, every evening, and this is the ſame on marching or on halting days; and buſineſs is executed with the ſame eaſe and regularity as if in the court. The conduct of a Maratta durbar preſents a complete picture of noble ſimplicity. Here there is no offenſive oſtentation to be obſerved, no ſtupidity of unmeaning parade, but every thing diſplays a dignified plainneſs infinitely more reſpectable and intereſting. Every perſon, even the meaneſt, can procure an immediate audience with the prince, when he is certain of being treated with politeneſs and attention. How different this from the

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baſe and degrading manners of the Mhogle court, that ſink of corruption, pride, and proſtitution, that ſtrange mixture of haughtineſs and ſervility, of meanneſs and parade! If ever the dignity of human nature was completely violated, it is in the manners and character of a Muſſulman courtier; no cynic, no miſanthrope, in his moſt ſplenetic humour, ever painted to his fancy a figure ſo violently diſguſting; in him every ſentiment of manly virtue is ſo extinct, that it is doubtful if it ever had exiſtence; a mere automaton moved only by the nod and ſmile of an abominable deſpot, if poſſible more vicious and degraded than himſelf. What nothingneſs is this, when contraſted with the ſimple greatneſs of the Maratta character! whoſe ſentiments and feelings I venerate too highly to diſhonour by compariſon.

Whenever the camp is to move, the chief gives orders where they are to encamp the next day; and this information is immediately communicated to the army by the ſervants of the *binney-wallaw*, an officer correſponding with our quarter-maſter general, who proclaims it in the public bazar. On the line of march the infantry always form the advance, as they move before day; the cavalry rarely make ready before nine in the morning, as they always wait to eat before they march. The tope-konna moves as a diſtinct body, generally in the rear of the line, and often at a great diſtance; which is a very dangerous mode, as it always offers to an active enemy a vulnerable point of attack. The chief moves with great ſtate, preceded by his howdah elephants, and others carrying the great ſtandards, led horſes, and accompanied by a ſelect body of cavalry. He always collects vaſt ſums on the road, as he extorts a nuzzir from every town in ſight, whether in his own dominions or not. The guns keep in the rear for the ſame purpoſe, and oblige the different villages to furniſh a certain quantity of ghee, a ſheep and a rupee for every gun: this they claim from immemorial cuſtom; but they are ſeldom ſo moderate. This piece of extortion is called

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baht, and is univerſally levied by every party ſtrong enough to enforce it. The villages are alſo infinitely diſtreſſed by being obliged to furniſh biggarees to forward the camp equipage; frequently bullocks and carts are preſſed and carried to a conſiderable diſtance: this is often practiſed to obtain a compenſation in money from the petels, or head men of the towns, who are alſo obliged to furniſh the whole army with graſs and wood gratis. Theſe diſburſements are carried by the petel to his Sircar's account, which is afterwards allowed on the annual ſettlement of the *kiſt-bundy*. Theſe depredations are practiſed by all the chiefs of the Maratta ſtates, and indifferently in every part of the empire.

The Maratta cavalry at times make very long and rapid marches, in which they do not ſuffer themſelves to be interrupted by the monſoon or any violence of weather. In very preſſing exigencies it is incredible the fatigue a Maratta horſeman will endure: frequently many days paſs without his enjoying one regular meal; but he depends entirely for ſubſiſtence on the different corn-fields through which the army paſs: a few heads of joary, which he chafes in his hands while on horſeback, will ſerve him for the day. His horſe ſubſiſts on the ſame fare; and with the addition of opium, which the Marattas frequently adminiſter to their cattle, they are enabled to perform incredible marches. Should the army even be encumbered with heavy artillery, they ſtill move with very great celerity, as there is always an advanced guard of cavalry detached to preſs draught bullocks from every town in ſight. Theſe, however, are efforts for extraordinary occaſions; the general day's march of a Maratta army is eight coſs, or twelve miles. They generally encamp in the vicinity of ſome large town, for the convenience of the bazars, and in the order already deſcribed.

The vaſt conſumption that attends a Maratta army neceſſarily ſuperinduces the idea of great ſupplies: yet notwithſtanding this, the native powers never concern themſelves

about providing for their forces, and have no idea of a grain and victualling department, which forms so great an object in an European campaign. The bungas, or grain-sellers, in an Indian army, have always their servants ahead of the troops on the line of march, to purchase in the circumjacent country whatever necessaries are to be disposed of. Articles of consumption are never wanting in a native camp, though they are generally twenty-five *per cent.* dearer than in the town bazars; but independent of this mode of supply, the *vanjarees*, or itinerant grain-merchants, furnish large quantities, which they bring on bullocks from an immense distance. These are a very peculiar race, and appear a marked and discriminated people from any other I have seen in this country: formerly they were considered so sacred, that they passed in safety in the midst of contending armies; of late, however, this reverence for their character is much abated, and they have been frequently plundered, particularly by Tippoo: they carry, however, in themselves a tolerable force, and are at all times able to resist a common marauding party. The vanjarees do not depend totally on the sale of grain for subsistence, but take back large returns of merchandise from the Deckan to Hindoostan. At their leisure they weave a certain coarse kind of hempen stuff, called in this country *tartpurtoo*, which brings a very great price, being far superior to the ordinary sort sold in the bazars: it is generally used in making bags to carry grain in, and large cloths for camels, called *salutas*, and has a very great consumption. I once met a large party of vanjarees settled in a jungle in Guzurat, and found upon inquiry, that not being able to dispose of their grain to advantage, they had cleared a large portion of waste ground and sowed it, and had hopes of making a considerable profit. A pastoral people have always been remarked as wanderers, but I believe this is the first instance of an agricultural tribe being distinguished by the same circumstance.

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The native infantry in the Maratta ſervices are generally commanded by European officers: thoſe who have brigades have very great pay and emoluments. Colonel Perron, the ſucceſſor of the famous De Boigne, has upwards of five thouſand rupees per month as commander in chief. There are other officers in the ſervice alſo of Scindea's Sircar, who have from one to three thouſand rupees monthly, excluſive of emoluments; the other princes alſo give very liberal pay to their Europeans. Holkar allows the commander of his infantry three thouſand rupees per month; the ſame pay was given by the Paiſhwa to the commander of his regular infantry, Colonel Boyd. Monſ. Raymond, who commands the Nizam's foot eſtabliſhment, has a jaghire of thirty lacs *per annum* for the payment of his troops. The pay of ſubalterns in the native ſervice is from two to five hundred rupees monthly: this pay, though not regular, is always certain, and the duty very trifling. Service is, however, very precarious, and the expenſes are great, as it is almoſt a conſtant campaign; which obliges an officer always to keep up a field eſtabliſhment of ſervants and animals, both of which occaſion very ſerious deductions from his pay. Very few indeed, except ſuch as command corps, have any opportunity of accumulating even a moderate fortune; and if you are wounded or diſabled in the ſervice, there is no proviſion allowed from the Sircar. I would therefore never adviſe any perſon to enter a native ſervice, if he can get any ſituation in the ſettlements.

I calculate that there are ſcattered about in the interior, in the various ſervices, of all countries and ſituations, about three hundred Europeans; of theſe about ſeven command tolerably large corps, and may be conſidered as men of fortune. There are, perhaps, about ſixty more in the rank of officers; the remainder are ſergeants and gunners, ſome of whom have deſerted from the ſettlements, others from ſhips; but the majority are French. Perſons of this deſcription have

have from thirty to ſixty rupees per month; but being under very little diſcipline are generally of extremely irregular conduct, and do but ſmall honour to the European character, except by their extraordinary courage and intrepidity when employed on actual ſervice: yet ſo great is the partiality of the Maratta chiefs for Europeans in general, that they enjoy many privileges in this country which the native himſelf does not partake of. The various Europe articles neceſſary for his conſumption paſs through the Maratta territories duty free: in the native durbars, no perſon in the ſervice can ſet up a palankeen without permiſſion; but with regard to an European, no leave is ever required. In the Mhogle government, no perſon can make uſe of a yellow howda but the Nawab, except Europeans, who labour under no reſtrictions of this kind. In travelling through the interior, your baggage is tranſported from town to town without expenſe, and your perſon and property are perfectly ſecure: none of the natives, but military men, have any advantage of this nature.

For the benefit of thoſe who may in future travel into Hindooſtan, I will in this place mention ſome circumſtances, which it behoves every perſon ſo ſituated to be informed of. The charity of the Hindoo adverts altogether to the convenience of the traveller: building ſeroys, durum-ſollas, or reſting-places, ſinking wells in dry ſituations, and conſtructing *dues* or pagodas, are the practical benevolence of the native. This principle operates in the interior regulations; hence in every village there are three perſons maintained at the public expenſe, whoſe ſervices every traveller has a right to command. The firſt of theſe is the *iſhkaur*, or chief of the low caſt people, whoſe duty it is to furniſh coolies to carry your baggage: if none of the *Dare*, or Parwarry tribe, are immediately to be found, he next reſorts to the *ſonaur*, or ſilverſmith caſt; if there are none of theſe ready, he goes through all the orders progreſſively; and if no one will take up the baggage, the petel, or chief of the village, muſt carry it himſelf;

ſelf; and I have frequently known very high caſt Bramins preſſed upon this ſervice, though it is very remarkable they never preſume to compel a Muſſulman, be his condition ever ſo mean or indigent. Theſe biggarees, as they are called, are exchanged at the next village, where they receive a certain quantity of coarſe flour from the petel, but no payment is ever required. The next perſon is the *beel*, or guide. The beels are a jungle people, and very nearly in a ſtate of barbariſm; they travel with a bow and arrows in their hands, ſubſiſt only by rapine and plunder, and are generally protected by ſome powerful chief to whom they pay chout; I have never, however, heard of their attempting the perſon of an European: of theſe people there are two or three retained in every village at the charge of the Sircar. The third perſon is called the *kooley*, who is an individual, either man or woman, of ſo high a zat, or caſt, that every other Hindoo can eat what they cook. The kooley, if you demand it, will dreſs your victuals, bring you whatever you want from the bazar, and for all this no compenſation is expected. But independent of theſe ſervices, the traveller can demand of the petel a certain portion of ſalt and moſſolah, alſo wood and pots to cook his food with.

I have now attempted to give you ſome idea of the general regulations of a Maratta army; there only remains to explain the purpoſes for which theſe armies have been raiſed, and the duties upon which they are employed. Hindooſtan is but a newly-acquired country, inhabited by a warlike and independent people, by no means reconciled to their preſent maſters, and very impatient of their ſubjection. The former authority of the emperors was in a great meaſure nominal, and their contributions to the court of Delhi were, I believe, much more lenient than their preſent ſubſidies to the Marattas: the government of the Mhogle, though deſpotic, was permanent and ſteady, far ſuperior to the capricious tyranny of their preſent maſters; every rupee is therefore extorted, nor can

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the revenues be collected but by a ſuperior military force. The native Hindoo princes of the Raaje Poote and Purvia tribes conſider it as a reflection on their honour to yield the tribute without a ſtruggle; and though certain of defeat, they will rather pay the expenſes of the campaign, than be thought to ſubmit without making one effort for their independence. Their pride is wounded at their inferiority as a people, to thoſe to whom they are ſo ſuperior as a caſt. To maintain the Maratta aſcendancy over ſuch unſubmitting ſpirits, furniſhes ſufficient employment for all their armies; and I doubt very much whether the acquiſition be adequate to the expenſe.

The country of Hindooſtan may be claſſed under two heads: firſt, that part which is become Maratta territory, the revenues of which go into the treaſuries of the different chiefs; and ſecondly, the dominions of thoſe princes who do not acknowledge any dependance on the empire, but who pay an annual ſubſidy to eſcape from its depredations. Under the former head is certainly comprehended the moſt of Hindooſtan Proper; the other includes the ſmall diſtrict of the Nawab of Bopaultol, part of the Agimere and Marwarry countries, the north end of the peninſula of Guzurat, and the dominions of the Jyepoor Rajah, one of the ancient Hindoo dynaſty, and the head of the Raaje Pootes. This laſt is the only prince who could with any proſpect of ſucceſs pretend to oppoſe the preſent overgrown power of the Marattas; but he appears an inſignificant, deſpicable character, occupied only by the effeminate amuſements of his zenana; yet he poſſeſſes immenſe wealth, and his ſubjects, the Raaje Pootes, are the moſt independent race of any of the Hindoo tribes: Scindea and Holkar jointly collect the Mul'uk Gheré from him. About three years ago, General De Boigne extorted from him, at the gates of his capital, ſeventy lacks of rupees, rather than run the riſk of a ſiege. Theſe compoſitions are called in this country making a *momlet*; and as this is preceded

by the ceremony of *milling*, a buſineſs of great importance among the native powers, I ſhall take this opportunity of deſcribing it; a taſk to which I conceive myſelf competent, as I have been a ſpectator to many.

When the milling, which ſignifies a public interview, takes place between perſons of equal rank and conſequence, there is a ſpot of ground previouſly determined on for the meeting, generally half way between their reſpective camps. The two ſowarries or cavalcades ſet off as nearly as poſſible at the ſame time. Upon this occaſion the moſt ſuperb equipage of the ſtate is marſhalled forth: elephants richly adorned, led horſes, running camels, and always a ſelect body of cavalry, attend the proceſſion: the whole moves very ſlowly, ſtopping frequently; the cavalry take advantage of theſe halts to exerciſe their horſes, firing off their pieces, and frequently performing tournaments with the bollah or ſpear. When the two parties firſt come in view of each other, both of them halt: in the interim, running camels paſs between to give information of the ſowarries and the principal perſons who compoſe it. All ceremonies being adjuſted, both bodies move forward very ſlowly, the *chobedahrs* on both ſides proclaiming the titles of the parties. When they arrive on the ſpot ſelected for the meeting, the perſon to whom the honour is intended alights firſt from his elephant, and, ſtanding up, *mills* with all the attendants of his viſitor; the inferior perſon *milling* firſt, and a *chobedahr* ſtanding by to proclaim the name and quality of the party. The actual ceremony itſelf conſiſts in embracing, laying the head firſt over the right, then over the left ſhoulder, making a ſalute by lifting the hand up to the forehead, and ſo parting. Frequently ſome hundreds mill before the two great men meet, who only embrace in the manner above deſcribed, and part immediately; it never being cuſtomary to enter upon buſineſs on theſe occaſions. It ſometimes happens that, after milling with the inferior perſonages, both chiefs again mount their elephants, and go through the ceremony in their howdahs; however,

however, the mode now mentioned is moſt general. It is alſo cuſtomary for chiefs to viſit each other in their own camps: upon theſe occaſions very valuable khelats are given, frequently diamonds and pearls (to a conſiderable amount), and rich cloths, at parting. *Beetel* and *pawn* are then delivered out to all the attendants, without which no perſon ever quits a native durbar. This piece of politeneſs is totally diſtinct from milling, being termed a *melhau kaut*, or viſit.

I ſhall, in the following table, hazard an eſtimate of the revenue and military ſtrength of the Maratta chiefs, by which you will be able to form a judgment of the collective ſtrength of the whole. It is neceſſary, however, to obſerve, that as the revenue depends upon the produce of the ſeaſon, in a certain degree, it is operated on by the plenty or ſcarcity of the harveſt; an abundant year always produces a ſmall revenue, as the price of grain is proportionably cheap. I do not pretend to ſay that I am in this ſtatement accurate to a fraction; but it will, I believe, upon the groſs, be found tolerably juſt. I eſtimate them as follows, *per annum*:

State	Crores.	Lacks.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Total.
Paiſhwa	4		40,000	20,000	60,000
Scindea	6		60,000	30,000	90,000
Bouncela	3	50	50,000	10,000	60,000
Holkar	1	50	30,000	4,000	34,000
Guyacquar	1		30,000		30,000
Total	16		210,000	64,000	274,000

You are not to ſuppoſe that this force is always kept embodied by the different chiefs, but ſimply what they could bring into the field on an emergency; and I think the calculation by no means equal to their greateſt force. Of this number the infantry,

infantry, with the exception of Dullut Row Scindea's, are a mere rabble without diſcipline or experience.

But independent of the ſum ſtated in the foregoing table as the annual revenue, there are immenſe treaſures buried in the *khazanas* of the different chiefs. It is impoſſible to calculate the wealth of powerful individuals, which being alſo buried in the different forts, are loſt to all the purpoſes of commerce or circulation. During the late revolution in Poona, Nana Furnaveſe declared himſelf worth twenty crores of rupees, and that the treaſury of the ſtate contained as much more. This may give ſome idea of private and public wealth; but the groſs collective riches of the empire are incalculable: being entirely lodged in killas, where they remain for ever untouched and daily accumulating, they have loſt all their value with regard to ſociety, and nothing ſhort of abſolute ruin could induce the government to ſubtract a ſingle rupee from them.

When we reflect upon theſe aſtoniſhing ſums that are ſunk in khazana, the immenſe quantity of bullion which is made up in ornaments, and the funds neceſſary to ſupply a fluctuating medium for trade, I think I may hazard the conjecture, that India is the richeſt country in gold and ſilver in the known world. This will, perhaps, appear the more extraordinary, when we reflect that Hindooſtan poſſeſſes in itſelf no mines of the precious metals. The very accurate author of "India Analyſed" aſſures us that ſo late as the middle of the ſixteenth century, the only current ſpecie of the empire was *copper*. This naturally involves one very intereſting inquiry, namely: Where has its preſent wealth come from? That nine tenths of it muſt have come from Europe will, I believe, admit of little controverſion; and as England monopolizes almoſt the whole Indian trade, it would appear that we have been exporting our ſolid bullion in exchange for Aſiatic commodities, and theſe commodities of ſecond neceſſity merely. It is certain that the native requires but very little from us, as you ſcarcely ever

ever ſee a piece of Europe manufacture in a country bazar. Undoubtedly there is no oppoſing mere ſpeculation to practical ſucceſs, yet I cannot forbear being of opinion that the Eaſt India trade, merely as ſuch, muſt always be a loſing concern to the nation that follows it. The territorial revenues are certainly an object of the firſt importance to the Company, and to preſerve them in ſuch a ſtate as to be capable of affording the moſt ſubſtantial advantages, is doubtleſs the duty of the Britiſh government: perhaps it would not be a ſound policy to increaſe the territory itſelf, as there is a *ne plus* in every meaſure of this nature.

To conclude. When I conſider the general ſtate of the Maratta empire, its amazing extent of frontier, its defective population, the reſtleſs and unſubdued ſpirits of the acquired territory, and the diſtracted ſtate of their parties; I am far from regarding it in that very formidable light which many perſons both in India and Europe are inclined to contemplate it. The Maratta ſtates are merely a confederacy without union, founded not upon confidence, but jealouſy; incapable of that wiſe and comprehenſive policy that embraces the common good; unſwayed but by private conſideration; deſtitute of mutual dependance on each other; and untinctured by a ſingle atom of patriotiſm or public ſpirit; a ſelfiſh and contracted ſyſtem without vigour or energy; in one word, a government whoſe councils are directed by the influence of intereſted Bramins, the moſt faithleſs and moſt venal of mankind. I certainly moſt ſincerely deprecate a war between the Britiſh and the Maratta power; but, independent of natural predilection, I can ſee nothing in the proſpect but what promiſes the moſt certain hopes of ultimate ſucceſs.

I have now, Sir, endeavoured, but I am ſenſible how very imperfectly, to give you ſome idea of the general policy of the Maratta ſtates. I have had but little opportunity of conſulting books on this ſubject, and have therefore been obliged to profit by ſuch circumſtances as preſented themſelves to me

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as a mere casual observer. I have, I confess, in the course of this inquiry, been carried far beyond my original design. I will also acknowledge, that in the discussion of the various topics comprised in this little tract, I have endeavoured to make myself as clearly understood as possible, and have exhausted on the subject my whole stock of information. I shall, however, be truly happy if this effort incite others of more leisure and ability to pursue the inquiry to the full extent that its magnitude and importance demand. Such, however, as the attempt is, I submit it to your perusal, with the fullest sense of its imperfections; but at the same time with a confidence that it will meet from you that candour and indulgence which the intention can only encourage me to hope for.

I have the honour to be,

POONA,
18 August 1797.

Dear Sir,

Your very obedient and most devoted servant,

H. W. TONE.

Captain MALCOLM,
Madras.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FOLLOWING

LETTERS.

TO render the following Letters more generally underſtood, it will be neceſſary to ſtate a few previous circumſtances. The father of the preſent Paiſhwa, the famous (or rather infamous) Ragonaut Row, better known by the name of Rago Bhye, having cauſed his nephew, Narrain Row, the then Paiſhwa, to be murdered, ſeized upon the government. Before he had time to adjuſt any domeſtic concerns, he was obliged to take the field againſt Nizam Ali Khan. Being a man of a very weak underſtanding, his councils were governed by a faction of obſcure, contemptible men, without talents or reſpectability. This circumſtance, together with the atrocity of his uſurpation, gave great offence to the ſuperior members of the empire, who, headed by Nana Furnaveſe, were forming ſecret plans for his deſtruction.—They ſeverally withdrew to their jaghires, and having raiſed a formidable army, and got into their poſſeſſion the wife of the murdered Paiſhwa, who was pregnant, they formed an alliance with the Nizam. This confederacy obliged Rago Bhye to fly; who, abſconding to Surat, remained there for ſome time, and afterwards came to Bombay, to intereſt the Britiſh government in obtaining his reſtoration.

Whether he was deceived himſelf as to the number of his partiſans, or wilfully deceived the Bombay government, it is not now neceſſary to diſcuſs; certain it is, that the attempts for the purpoſe of placing him again on the Muſnud totally failed, notwithſtanding the prodigious efforts of the Company's forces: the oppoſition of the Marattas to his return was almoſt univerſal. In a ſhort time he was delivered up to the Poona government upon treaty, who aſſigned him a moderate jaghire, and appointed for his reſidence the town of Cowpergong, on the banks of the Godovery, one of the ſacred rivers of the Hindoos. Upon his death, which happened a few years back, his family (conſiſting of his wife Annundy Bhye, a woman of heroic ſpirit, his adopted ſon Amrut Row, and his two ſons Bajarow, the preſent Paiſhwa, and Oppa Row) were removed to the fort of Juneer, near Poona. In the mean time, the wife of Narrain Row was delivered of a ſon, Mada Row, the late Paiſhwa, in whoſe name Nana Furnaveſe governed the empire for twenty-five years with almoſt unlimited authority. Mada Row, who appears to have poſſeſſed a fine compaſſionate heart, touched by the impriſonment and ſufferings of his unfortunate relation Baja Row, entered, without the knowledge of his miniſter, into a ſecret correſpondence with him:—ſome of his letters were intercepted by Nana, who reproached the prince for what he termed duplicity with ſuch bitterneſs and ſeverity, that Mada Row, ſenſible of the impoſſibility of puniſhing him, determined not to ſurvive the inſult, and, after a few days of apparent melancholy, threw himſelf from the battlements of his palace, and expired almoſt on the inſtant.

This memorable event having left the empire without any declared head, the eyes of the people were naturally turned on Baja Row, who was next of blood. The oppoſition and intrigues of Nana to prevent his ſucceſſion, and the means by which he finally did ſucceed, furniſh the ſubject of the following letters.

LETTER

LETTER I.

Poona, 18th June 1796.

THE late important tranſactions that have taken place here, owing to the ſudden death of the former Paiſhwa, have excited in the whole empire a degree of ſolicitude proportioned to the magnitude of the event. You who live in the ſettlements, and whoſe information upon native politics muſt of neceſſity be very vague, are ever liable to be impoſed on, either through ignorance or deſign. I therefore take the liberty of ſending you a detail of the moſt prominent circumſtances, for the authenticity of which I can vouch, as every tranſaction has occurred within the ſphere of my own immediate obſervation.

It is almoſt unneceſſary to inform you, that Nana Furnaveſe uſed every expedient in his power to prevent Bajarow from ſucceeding to the Muſnud. Long in the poſſeſſion of unlimited authority, he could not brook the idea of a ſubordinate ſituation; while the neceſſity of ſome ſupreme head rendered the appointment of a Paiſhwa indiſpenſable. Had the ſucceſſion fallen on Bajarow, he well knew his power expired with his nomination: the injuries he had done both to his father and himſelf, rendered it impoſſible he could ever obtain his confidence; to fruſtrate therefore his hopes of ſucceſſion, nothing was left unattempted: every art that the moſt refined policy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt conſummate diſſimulation could perform, was practiſed to amuſe the empire; in which he ſucceeded ſo far as to procraſtinate the appointment of a Paiſhwa for nearly ſix months. During this period he had produced three children ſucceſſively, as relatives to the late

Paiſhwa, for the approbation of the great members of the ſtate, and uſed every means in his power to get one of them appointed. It was his wiſh that an infant ſhould ſucceed, as that circumſtance would have ſecured him the certainty of a long minority. In theſe attempts however he was diſappointed. Of the principal heads of the empire, Scindea alone avowed his intentions of ſupporting Bajarow. Purſeram Bhow, and Bappoo Firkia, ſeemed devoted to Nana; and Holkar remained in the moſt obſtinate neutrality. At laſt, when every ſcheme was exhauſted, Scindea, who was encamped at Jamgong, made a movement towards Juneer, where Bajarow was confined, with an intention of releaſing him, and putting him on the Muſnud by force. Upon which, Nana (like an accompliſhed politician) was reſolved, if Bajarow were releaſed, he ſhould owe that favour to him alone; and immediately ordered Purſeram Bhow to proceed to Juneer, and bring the prince to Poona. Whether it were Nana's intention to make Bajarow Paiſhwa, or only to prevent Scindea's getting poſſeſſion of him, is extremely problematical; however, before the prince quitted his priſon, the Bhow gave him his oath, adminiſtered in the moſt ſolemn manner, to protect and ſupport him: he was accordingly brought away, accompanied by his younger brother Oppa Row, and encamped without the city for ſome days. Here Scindea paid him a viſit, having poſted his whole army on the Beema river, within ten coſs of Poona. About this time it was reported that Nana ſent an order to the Bhow, to deliver up Bajarow to him, and it was thought that he intended to ſhut him up in the fort of Poonaghur; but this order the Bhow peremptorily refuſed to comply with, having too much honour to become the infamous tool of Nana's politics. In ſhort, the miniſter finding all evaſions were uſeleſs, that he was deceived in the Bhow, and that Scindea was determined to ſupport Bajarow, came out to viſit the young prince.

At this meeting, Nana told Bajarow he was now to con-

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ſider himſelf as Paiſhwa; that he had certainly oppoſed his ſucceſſion, and that it was now in his power either to puniſh or forgive him; reminded him that he was an old man, and that, though he had been inimical to his intereſts, he had been faithful to thoſe of the ſtate: in ſhort, he ſo far wrought on the feelings of the prince, that he promiſed him not only pardon but protection, and ſome time after actually interpoſed his authority to ſecure him from Scindea, who had ſworn his deſtruction. In a few days Nana was diſpatched to Sattarah, to bring the khelat, without which no Paiſhwa can be appointed. During the interregnum, Nana had ſomehow or other ſecreted the entire treaſure of the ſtate. How the money was diſpoſed of, ſtill continues a myſtery: however it be, when the prince arrived, the treaſury was found empty, though it was known to have contained nearly twenty crores of rupees. In the mean time Bajarow entered Poona, took poſſeſſion of the palace, and went through the ceremony of ſitting on the *tuckt* or throne. The next day he marched out of the city, and encamped about ten coſs diſtant, accompanied by Purſeram Bhow, Firkia, and Scindea, whoſe joint forces formed one camp. Here he remained in expectation of the khelat, which was to confirm his inauguration.

Nana had now ſecured himſelf at Sattarah, having with him a party of about eight thouſand troops. Every day brought ſome new excuſe to the prince, but no clothes arrived, and until they did arrive, his appointment was nugatory. In the mean time Scindea began to diſcover ſentiments unfriendly to him, and at one period ſurrounded his tents with a large detachment, and detained him in a ſtate of impriſonment till he had ſubſcribed to an inſtrument, one article of which was, that Nana ſhould never interfere in the public buſineſs of the Durbar. A month paſſed away in this manner without any decided meaſure being adopted; Nana continued to furniſh daily evaſions for the non-arrival of the khelat; in the interim Scindea again ſurrounded the prince, and after ſome fruitleſs negotiation,

negotiation, parted from him, ſeemingly in great diſcontent. Upon this, Firkia and the Bhow perſuaded the unfortunate Bajarow to pay a viſit to Scindea in his own camp, in order to accommodate matters. The moment he arrived he was made a priſoner: the ſame inſtant his brother Oppa Row was forced into a palankeen, ſent under a ſtrong detachment to Poona, and committed to the cuſtody of an eminent ſirdar, of the name of Raſtia. In a few days the Bhow and Firkia returned to the city, leaving Bajarow in the poſſeſſion of Scindea, where he ſtill continues, and who will probably make a tool of him on ſome future occaſion.

When the attempt was made to ſeparate Oppa Row from his brother, the boy, though only eleven years of age, drew his ſword, and made an attempt on his life. He was ſhortly informed of their intention of making him Paiſhwa, and reſiſted as long as he could his own elevation, declaring he would never uſurp that ſituation, which of right belonged to his brother. He reproached both the Bhow and Firkia in the bittereſt terms with the baſeneſs and perfidy of their conduct; however, in a few days the long-looked-for khelat arrived from Sattarah, and he was ſolemnly inveſted as Paiſhwa, in the preſence of the great members of the empire. Purſeram Bhow was created miniſter, Firkia continued as commander in chief, Scindea received ſome purgunnas, got ſome money in hand, and an order on the Nizam for a crore of rupees, being the expenſes incurred by the laſt campaign; but with all this he appears yet diſſatisfied.

Such are the preſent arrangements that have taken place, but it is impoſſible to ſpeculate on what may yet be the end of this moſt extraordinary tranſaction. Nana has declared his entire diſapprobation of the whole buſineſs, and his intereſt ſeems now to be renounced by all parties. Scindea ordered a brigade to move towards Sattarah, which obliged Nana to ſhift his quarters: he is at preſent in the fort of Ryegur in the Cokan, and the avenues to Poona are guarded to intercept

his correſpondence. Some of his dependants have been ſecured; but his flight has embarraſſed the new miniſtry moſt dreadfully, and left the finances of the empire in inexplicable confuſion.

There are ſome who are yet of opinion that the whole of this curious tranſaction is merely a political manœuvre, and that Bajarow will yet ſucceed, if not as Paiſhwa, at leaſt as miniſter to his brother. Whether this conjecture be juſt or not, I confeſs I am not politician enough to determine. I believe the general ſentiment of the people is for him, but they are led by two or three powerful men, and view this iniquitous buſineſs with that unfeeling apathy which conſtitutes the leading feature in the Hindoos of every denomination. But whatever may be the deſtiny of this unfortunate prince, his merit and his ſufferings muſt excite in every boſom both pity and admiration; for though his whole life has paſſed within the walls of a priſon, which muſt naturally have circumſcribed his ideas, yet by his prudence and ſagacity he was able to defeat the ſupreme duplicity of Nana, an experienced ſtateſman, grown gray in the practice of deceit. His fortitude in adverſity, his magnanimity to his avowed enemy, and his moderation in the moment of his ſucceſs, muſt make us lament that ſuch extraordinary qualifications did not meet with the ſucceſs that they deſerve; and now, blaſted in his proſpects, betrayed by pretended friends, abandoned by the world, and torn from his brother, the partner of his ſufferings and the companion of his ſolitude, he diſplays a greatneſs of ſoul, ſuch as can only ariſe from an unſhaken firmneſs of mind, and a conſcious rectitude of principles.

Every thing reſpecting this illuſtrious ſufferer becomes an object of curioſity. His undeſerved misfortunes entitle him to our ſympathy; but his perſon and appearance would alone make him an intereſting object, were he even deficient in ſuperior endowments. Bajarow is about twenty-five years of age, light-complexioned, and rather above the middle ſize; his

his perſon is graceful, and his manner ſtrongly impreſſive; his countenance is manly, ſenſible, and majeſtic; in ſhort, ſuch a face as Lavater would contemplate with ſatisfaction: his underſtanding is of the firſt order, which has been doubtleſs conſiderably improved by the ſociety of his adopted brother Amrutrow, who is older than himſelf, and ſaid to be a man of ſuperior talents, both as a ſoldier and a politician. His younger brother, the preſent Paiſhwa, is about eleven years old: a beautiful boy; light-complexioned, with a lively animated countenance. He is ſaid to poſſeſs fine talents, which appears to be peculiarly the caſe with regard to this family.

LETTER II.

Poona, 3d September 1796.

WHEN I had laſt the honour of addreſſing you on the ſtate of Maratta politics, I believe I concluded the ſketch which I attempted to delineate, with the ſuperſeſſion and impriſonment of Bajarow. Since that period many circumſtances have occurred, which, though not ſo ſtriking or important as thoſe that preceded them, are notwithſtanding curious, and highly deſcriptive of the genius and ſentiments of this people; and I believe it may be ſafely aſſerted, that no human character holds forth a more intereſting ſubject for philoſophic inveſtigation than the Hindoo race; for in them we behold a people arrived at the utmoſt height of refinement, whoſe manners, religion, and opinions are ſo different from (I might ſay almoſt oppoſite to) our own, that we in vain look into ourſelves for any correſponding ſentiment or analogy of character: nor do the Hindoos, little as they are agitated by,

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paſſion or ſentiment, preſent a mere ſameneſs and uniformity of temper; they are indeed but different ſhades of the ſame colour, yet the gradual progreſs of refinement is diſcernible, from the wild predatory Maratta, almoſt ſemi-barbarous, to the poliſhed and inſidious Bramin, whoſe ſpecious politeneſs, and aſtoniſhing command of temper, leave all European hypocriſy in the ſhade. This extraordinary urbanity qualifies them in the higheſt manner for executing all public buſineſs. The Maratta is a mere rough and unlettered ſoldier, ſo much ſo, that both Scindea and Holkar, though excellent generals, could neither of them ſign their own names. The whole political buſineſs of the empire is therefore in the hands of the Bramins, for which it muſt be confeſſed they are eminently calculated; and perhaps upon no occaſion were their intrigues more fully diſplayed, than upon the late extraordinary tranſactions that have agitated the whole Maratta republic.

For a long time after the ſuperſeſſion of Bajarow, he remained in the camp of Dowlut Row, under a certain degree of perſonal reſtraint, but by no means ſo ſevere as to be termed cloſe impriſonment: his friends were at liberty to viſit him, and he retained about him a choſen band of faithful adherents. Of theſe, many were of conſiderable rank, particularly Monajee Phankera, an officer of high military reputation, and ſo disfigured with wounds as to have ſcarcely the appearance of a human creature, with many others of inferior conſideration, in all about ſix hundred men. Dowlut Row was conſtant in paying his perſonal attendance, profeſſing his unſhaken attachment to him, and encouraging him to hope from day to day the ſpeedy reſtoration of his affairs. At the ſame time Ballajee Tantia, the Dewan of Dowlut Row, who had been principally inſtrumental in preventing his ſucceſſion, was preſſing the departure of Bajarow for Jamgong, and would have frequently uſed coercive meaſures, had not Dowlut Row expreſsly declared that no violence ſhould be practiſed; and Bajarow and all his dependants had

repeatedly ſworn to expire to the laſt man, rather than conſent that he ſhould be again buried in a fort, which they well knew would be the conſequence of his removal.

In the mean time Purſeram Bhow, Bappoo Firkia, and Ballajee Tantia, who had jointly placed the preſent Paiſhwa on the *tuckt* to the prejudice of his brother, had ſcarcely poſſeſſed themſelves of his perſon and authority, before they began to diſcover jealouſies of each other. The means and reſources of theſe eminent conſpirators were ſeparate and diſtinct. Balla Tantia, as the miniſter of Scindea, had a great military force. The Bhow was poſſeſſed of ſome authority, but of ſtill greater abilities, and an undaunted reſolution; but the treaſury having been emptied by Nana, left him without pecuniary ſupplies. Bappoo Firkia was keeper of the jerry put, or, in other words, was hereditary ſtandard-bearer of the empire, immenſely rich, but weak, timid, and irreſolute, and of conſequence a proper ſubject for the other two to work upon. From ſuch a triumvirate no unanimity was to be expected; and the conſequence was, that diſtruſt and diſſenſion almoſt immediately took place between Firkia and the Bhow, each of whom remained in their ſeveral houſes ſurrounded by their guards, with every appearance of hoſtility and ſuſpicion. Tantia endeavoured to bring about a good underſtanding between them, and at laſt effected an apparent reconciliation, but with what ſincerity it was made will be ſeen in the ſequel.

It appears that the revolution which excluded Bajarow was entirely executed by Tantia and the Bhow, for Firkia was in a great meaſure the tool of the other two. The ſtriking iniquity of the buſineſs made them many enemies, and the poverty of the ſtate diſabled the Bhow from bribing many powerful chiefs, whoſe influence and authority made it neceſſary they ſhould have been conſulted. This imprudent neglect, together with ſome other unpopular proceedings, contributed to generate an univerſal diſcontent. The birth and misfortunes of Bajarow naturally attracted the attention of

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thoſe who were diſſatisfied with the exiſting order of things, and a powerful party was active in his favour, both in the city and the camp. At the head of this combination were ſome of the principal *Maun-karries*, officers highly reſpectable from character, as well as formidable from numbers. Theſe Maun-karries, or Maun-byes (literally *Truſty Brothers)*, are all of high rank in the ſtate, are at the head of all the military force of the Sircar, and pay very little reſpect to any Paiſhwa, conſidering him as a ſervant in common with themſelves to the Sattarah Raja, whom they acknowledge as their ſupreme head, and from whom they hold their authority. The moſt active of theſe Sirdars was Niel Kont Row, a man of great influence and abilities, whoſe indefatigable labours rendered him the ſoul of the enterpriſe, which at this time received a conſiderable reinforcement from the junction of Firkia; who, though neither a ſoldier nor a politician, yet derived great conſequence from his important ſituation as keeper of the jerry put, which, when hoiſted, the whole military force of the Sircar is obliged to follow. Nana, from his retreat in the Cokan, and his agents actively employed, had diſtributed ſome lacks of rupees to forward the buſineſs; but neither very liberally nor very judiciouſly, as the event ſufficiently proved. Bajarow was alſo forming cabals in the camp of Dowlut Row, and had brought over a conſiderable party; Holkar had joined the confederacy; and, in ſhort, every thing ſeemed verging towards that important criſis, which was to reſtore liberty to the prince and a government to the people.

The night of the 23d of Auguſt was the period fixed on for attempting this counter-revolution; the cavalry of the Maun-karries was ready, and a great part of the infantry was prepared to act: the plan was, that Bajarow ſhould break from his confinement and come to Poona, which he might eaſily have done, as the diſtance was only five coſs. Purſeram Bhow was to have been ſeized; and as little oppoſition could

have been made, the buſineſs, if attempted, would moſt probably have been ſucceſsful: but at the important moment Firkia was indeciſive, and Bajarow could not with ſafety attempt his eſcape: thus the plan was dropped for that night. The next day every thing remained *in ſtatu quo*. On the morning of the 25th, Balla Tantia was ſurrounded in his tents by ſome of Scindea's Sirdars, until he gave ſecurity for a long arrear of pay. Holkar had agreed to be ready by ſun-ſet with his whole force, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe a certainty of ſucceſs. As night came on, Holkar was ſent to move, which he refuſed to do, as there had been ſome neglect in the article of etiquette in the delivery of the meſſage. The known treachery of the man, the weakneſs and indeciſion of Firkia, and perhaps a want of confidence in each other, induced them to lay aſide all attempts for that night. On the 26th ultimo, at ſun-down, all the party were again in arms; Firkia diſcovered a more than ordinary degree of reſolution, and Holkar had faithfully ſworn to ſupport the cauſe with his whole army. The partiſan corps of Mr. Boyd paſſed the Mooley river, to receive the prince, or act as circumſtances might direct: all former miſcarriages were forgotten, and every boſom was elated at the proſpect of immediate action; but at nine o'clock at night an expreſs arrived, that Tantia had been releaſed and reconciled himſelf to Dowlut Row, with whom he had had a difference; that double guards were placed over Bajarow; in ſhort, that the whole buſineſs was diſcovered. This intelligence acted upon the party like magic, and inſtead of urging them to immediate exertion, threw a damp upon the whole of the proceedings, and every one returned to his own quarters, convinced perhaps by this time, that neither union nor exertion could be expected where mutual confidence did not exiſt.

Notwithſtanding all former miſcarriages, a party yet remained that were determined to truſt to their own ſtrength, and to depend no longer on the doubtful ſupport of Holkar

and

and Firkia. Every thing was arranged on the night of the 27th, and the firing of the morning gun was the ſignal of attack: but this, like all former preparations, vaniſhed like a ghoſt on "ſcenting the morning air." No attempt was made, and it is now probable that no attempt will be made to diſturb the preſent adminiſtration.

The next day all Bajarow's party were removed from about his perſon, and ſurrounded by two of Scindea's battalions. His faithful aſſociate Monajee Phankera was confined in his tents, and only a few ſervants were permitted to attend him. Orders were ſent to Bajarow to prepare for Aſſurghur, a fort near Berhampoor, which, under all his misfortunes, he reſolutely refuſed, declaring he would periſh on the ſpot, rather than ſubmit to be removed. In fact, he is an inſurmountable obſtacle to the preſent miniſtry, and it is highly probable he will either be compelled into confinement or diſpatched. The indignities that he has ſuffered, and the diſtreſſes he has ſince ſuſtained, are ſcarcely credible. To oblige him to conſent to his removal, he was put into a ſituation which in this country is called being in *dherna*, or, in other words, remaining without food or water, or being ſuffered to ſtir from the ſpot where he ſits, until he complies with the demand that is made. This dreadful ſtate he remained in for two whole days, and part of the third; and Dowlut Row, making a point of honour of the buſineſs, remained in the ſelf-ſame ſituation for the ſame length of time; and Balla Tantia, who ordered the *dherna*, reſolving not to be outdone in politeneſs, put himſelf in the ſame condition. At laſt Dowlut Row ordered the guards to be removed, and Bajarow was permitted to eat. This truly unhappy prince is at this moment in another dherna for the ſame purpoſe, and which will probably terminate either in his death or his compliance.

You are by no means to ſuppoſe, that the combination I have mentioned was conducted with either ſecrecy or ſilence; on

on the contrary, it was univerſally known long before any attempt whatever was made; and yet what is moſt extraordinary, neither during the proceſs, nor ſince the plan has been abandoned, have any attempts been made by government to arreſt any of the parties. Whether this moderation proceed from weakneſs or policy, is highly queſtionable; perhaps the whole buſineſs may be compromiſed by a fine. The Bhow is in himſelf without much force, and depends entirely on Scindea for ſupport; the whole of whoſe infantry in the Deckan conſiſts of about four thouſand men, mutinous and badly diſciplined: yet with this force, and the terror of his name, he bullies the whole Sircar, that has in pay twenty-five thouſand Sepoys.

Nana Furnaveſe ſtill continues in the Cokan, where he has an army of near ten thouſand men; but as his pretenſions have been grounded on thoſe of Bajarow, and as he will moſt probably be ſo diſpoſed of, as to prevent in future his aſpiring to the Muſnud, the foundation of Nana's hopes will conſequently ſink with thoſe of the prince. Whether he meditate any projects for his own aggrandizement, time will diſcover; but as matters ſtand at preſent, it is not very improbable but he may terminate his long and important life by a voluntary retreat to Benares.

LETTER III.

Poona, 19th December 1796.

THE late counter-revolution, which took place here on the 27th of October, equally extraordinary and unexpected, has furniſhed me with another occaſion for addreſſing you—I ſay unexpected, becauſe perhaps at no period of the Bhow's admi-

adminiſtration was his authority ſo apparently firm as at the moment that left him without any authority at all. Previous to this event, a conſpiracy againſt the government had been diſcovered and cruſhed; Bajarow had been ſent priſoner to Jamgong; Firkia had been arreſted and confined; Holkar and Scindea had collected vaſt armies for the ſervice of the Sircar; Muſhire ul Mulk, who had been left as a hoſtage by the Nizam, had been liberated, on condition of ſupplying a contingent for the ſtate, and had actually collected at Poona an army of fifteen thouſand troops. All this amazing hoſt was to move after the *Duſſera* againſt Nana, whoſe whole force was not eſtimated at ten thouſand men; a heterogeneous maſs of Arabs, Coffries, and Marattas, equally deſtitute of order, diſcipline, or experience. To ſuppoſe that Nana, whoſe affairs were ſo obviouſly deſperate, ſhould yet finally ſucceed in deſtroying his adverſary, and even turn his very reſources againſt himſelf, was beyond the reach of all rational expectation; yet, extraordinary as it may appear, all this has taken place: but there is no calculating upon a people ſo unſteady in their attachments, and ſo verſatile in their principles, who will never decide a conteſt by the ſword, if it can poſſibly be decided by the purſe; and to the greateſt of whom a bribe may be offered, not only without offence, but with a poſitive certainty of ſucceſs.

I concluded my laſt with an account of the *dherna* of Bajarow, a practice already deſcribed. In this ſtate he remained for a day or two, until the neceſſities of nature becoming too powerful, he conſented to his removal to Jamgong, to which fort he was conducted by a ſtrong detachment of cavalry and one of Scindea's battalions. A few days after, Monajee Phankera was diſmiſſed the camp of Dowlut Row, on condition of quitting the Maratta territory. He went as far as Chumargunda, about forty coſs from Poona, where having collected a ſmall force, he laid the circumjacent country under contribution, and having raiſed about four lacks of

rupees,

rupees, he immediately joined the camp of Nana, at that time poſted on the top of Sulleeghaut, under the orders of Boojaba, his principal ſecretary: he was followed in a ſhort time by Niel Kont Row, who had been arreſted by the Bhow, but who had broken from his confinement, and taken refuge under the ſtandard of Nana. Theſe events only led the way to a more ſerious buſineſs, the ſeizing of Bappoo Firkia, a man of the firſt rank in the ſtate; who was made priſoner in his own houſe without reſiſtance, although the whole military force of Poona was under his command. He was given in charge to Scindea, and in a few days was ſent to a neighbouring fort. In the confuſion of arreſting Firkia, his brother Attia Firkia, and his Dewan Nana Chucnedo, eſcaped, and took protection in the camp of Muſhire ul Mulk, accompanied by more of the Maun-karries, who fled thither from a dread of the Bhow's reſentment. Theſe evidences of ſtrength and authority ſeemed to argue the permanency of the exiſting government, and the approaching feſtival of the Duſſera was looked to as the ſignal of the moſt active operations: the combined forces of Holkar, Scindea, and the Mhogle, together with the troops of the Sircar, were ready to take the field, and the inſtrument of Nana's deſtruction ſeemed ſuſpended only by a hair.

The Duſſera, which took place on the 11th of October, may be conſidered as a complete military feſtival. The monſoon is by this time generally over, the arrangements of the enſuing year are adjuſted, and the operations of the approaching campaign determined on. In Poona this *fête* is celebrated with particular ſplendour; the Paiſhwa, accompanied by the great members of the empire, marches out of the city, preceded by the ſtate equipages, conſiſting of elephants ſuperbly capariſoned, led horſes, and, in ſhort, all the pomp of oriental magnificence. Upon this occaſion the Marattas go through the ceremony of plundering a field, doubtleſs to remind them of their predatory origin; the Paiſhwa leads the way,

way, by tearing up a handful of corn; his example is followed by all preſent, and the field is pillaged in a moment. What effect this ſcene of depredation may have upon the morals of a community, it is not now neceſſary to inveſtigate; it certainly keeps up a military ſpirit in the people, a circumſtance eſſential in a government that holds its acquiſitions only by the ſword.

Immediately after the Duſſera the different armies began to move. The corps of J. P. Boyd, Eſq. which comprehends the whole of the regular infantry of the Sircar, was the firſt that marched; and in a few days encamped on the Nerah river, within four coſs of Sulpee gaut, which was blocked up by the advanced army of Nana. The firſt brigade of Scindea, commanded by Major Perron, moved to the foot of the gauts; and Holkar's army, together with the forces of Muſhire ul Mulk, were ready at a moment's warning. Such was the poſition of affairs when the counter-revolution took place; an exploſion that in a moment demoliſhed the whole fabric of the exiſting authority to its very baſe, hurled the Bhow from the ſummit of power to a priſon, recalled Bajarow from a priſon to a throne, and brought again into action an exiled miniſter, that a few hours before appeared devoted to deſtruction.

It has been already mentioned that the brother and the Dewan of Firkia took refuge in the Mhogle camp, together with other perſons of diſtinction, particularly Govind Row Pingla, formerly vakeel to the Durbar of Hydrabad. Theſe three perſons, the immediate agents of Nana, were the principal inſtruments in effecting the revolution. By the moſt alluring offers they detached Muſhire ul Mulk from the intereſt of the Bhow. The ſum of two crores of rupees, due by the Nizam, was to be remitted, the country ceded to the Marattas by the treaty made at Kurdla in 1794 was to be reſtored, and Muſhire himſelf, by the influence of the court of Poona, was to be reinſtated in his office of Dewan to the Nizam. Any thing, however, that he alone

could have attempted would have been ineffectual, had Scindea remained ſtaunch to the intereſt of the Bhow; but he was alſo brought over to the party of Nana; though the means by which he was acted upon were in ſome meaſure different from thoſe that were practiſed upon Muſhire. The overgrown authority of Balla-Pagnaveſe, the miniſter of Dowlut Row, had excited the jealouſy and indignation of an active and formidable party; and indiſcreet attentions which he paid to another branch of Scindea's family, nearer in blood than Dowlut Row, afforded a pretext to his enemies, and effectually alarmed the prince himſelf. Theſe circumſtances, coupled with the timely offer of two crores of rupees from Nana, determined the fate of Pagnaveſe. He was immediately ſeized and loaded with irons, his property confiſcated, and his office of Dewan conferred upon Ramjee Patela, a relation of Dowlut Row. His arreſt was ſo inſtantaneous, that he had only time to diſpatch an hircarrah to Purſeram Bhow, to inform him of his ſituation; whoſe whole ſupport reſting with Pagnaveſe, that prop removed, the whole fabric of his ambition was annihilated in a moment. He immediately fled to the palace, and ſeized the perſon of the young Paiſhwa, whom he bound before him on his horſe; and quitting the city with a ſmall retinue, took a circuitous road through the hills, and in three days arrived at Juneer, a fort rendered memorable by the long confinement of the Paiſhwa and his brothers. Here he depoſited the prince under the charge of his ſon, and took poſt himſelf between the pettah and the fort, prepared to fight or negotiate, as circumſtances might render neceſſary.

The next morning, October 27th, by gun-fire, the whole city was filled by the troops of Muſhire ul Mulk; all the adherents of the Bhow that could be found were ſecured; among the reſt Byra Punt Mindleh, the chief inſtigator of his ambition. Bappoo Firkia was immediately releaſed, and took charge of the public affairs. Bajarow was recalled from his priſon at Jamgong; and Nana, emerging from his ob-

ſcurity

ſcurity in the Cokan, joined the army of Boojaba, at this time reinforced by the troops of Mr. Boyd that were commanded to act under his orders. Here he received vakeels from Scindea, Holkar, and Muſhire, each of whom ſeemed to contend who ſhould be the firſt to compliment the returning miniſter. In Poona the ſtricteſt diſcipline was preſerved by the triumphant party, and not the ſmalleſt violation offered to public or private property: in one word, the total aſpect of affairs was reverſed; the faction of the Bhow was abſolutely annihilated.

In the mean time, the joint forces of Scindea, Holkar, and Muſhire ul Mulk, had ſurrounded the Bhow ſo effectually as to cut off all forage and ſupplies, ſo that his diſtreſs was extreme. Some days were loſt in negotiation; at length Eſwant Row Holkar, the youngeſt ſon of the Subadar, who had received ſome perſonal injury from the Bhow, brought the matter to a very ſpeedy concluſion, by ſtorming him ſword in hand. After a ſhort action, in which, however, about four hundred men were killed, the party were made priſoners, and the Bhow ſurrendered himſelf to Raſtia, upon a promiſe of life and honour, having behaved with the ſame undaunted bravery for which he has ever been diſtinguiſhed during the courſe of a long and active life. In a few days he was ſent priſoner to Mondugong, a fort belonging to Holkar; his adherents were confined in different places, and the young Paiſhwa was releaſed and given in care to Chucknadeo, the Dewan of Firkia.

Thus terminated the ambitious projects of Purſeram Bhow, a man whoſe character as a ſoldier is acknowledged, but who, it muſt be confeſſed, was totally unequal to the more arduous duties of government. The empire was a hydra that could only be managed by the gigantic genius of Nana; indeed his whole adminiſtration was one continued ſtruggle with difficulty and diſtreſs, for the flight of the old miniſtry had

left the treaſury without a rupee; and the revenues of the country were withheld under pretence of the unſettled ſtate of the government. The adherents of Nana threw innumerable impediments in his way, and ſo weak was his adminiſtration, that his orders were not univerſally obeyed even in Poona, and were certainly not at all attended to out of it. In ſhort, ſo ſenſible was he of the difficulties of his ſituation, and the imbecility of his authority, that he is reported to have frequently declared his intention of reſigning an office, to which, it muſt be acknowledged, he was totally unequal: the ſhort period, however, of his government does not appear to have been marked by any inſtance of injuſtice or rapacity.

In a few days Bajarow arrived at the Bimmera river, where he encamped; and his brother the Paiſhwa was kept about five coſs diſtant, where, for ſome reaſon beſt known to the ruling powers, they were not permitted to meet. By this time Nana had arrived at Poona, and paid his compliments to the young prince; Bajarow had alſo encamped nearer the city, and in a few days his brother went to ſee him, after a painful ſeparation of more than ſix months. At this meeting Oppa Row firſt embraced his adopted brother; but when he approached Bajarow, the generous feelings of nature were too powerful to be ſuppreſſed by the frigidity of barbarous parade, and both the princes melted into tears! Such a ſcene would only be injured by deſcription. After a ſhort viſit, the neceſſity of returning to his former encampment was hinted to the young Paiſhwa; but this intimation met with ſuch a reſolute refuſal, that it was not repeated. Bajarow having ſecured his brother in his tent, ſeized upon the jerry put. In a day or two he received the khelat from Sattarah, which conſtituted him Paiſhwa, and immediately was preſented with nuzzirs by the leading members of the empire.

Although this extraordinary revolution was brought about imme-

immediately by Pingla and Chucknadeo, yet theſe muſt be looked upon as merely the ſubordinate agents of Nana. Though this great politician was driven by the ſtorms of time into the ſhades of temporary obſcurity, yet his enlightened genius, like the beams of a departed ſun, ſtill reflected a ſtrong light through the whole political hemiſphere, ſufficient to guide through the intricate mazes, thoſe inferior ſatellites that were but the precurſors of the returning luminary, more bright from temporary darkneſs. To attempt a character of this great ſtateſman, would be to detail a hiſtory of Maratta politics for the laſt twenty-five years; during which time he diſcharged the duties of miniſter with perhaps abilities unequalled. During the long and important period of his adminiſtration, by the force and energy of his ſingle mind he held together this vaſt empire, compoſed of members whoſe intereſts were as oppoſite as the moſt anomalous elements; and by the verſatility of his genius, the wiſdom, firmneſs, and moderation of his government, he excited this maſs of incongruities to one mutual and common effort. The ſudden death of the late Paiſhwa having left the empire without any legal or declared head, gave a temporary blow to the conſequence of Nana; yet ſuch were the habits of ſubmiſſion in which he had trained the great members of the ſtate, that for ſix months he carried on the functions of government by his ſole order and authority. His oppoſition to the juſt claims of Bajarow threw an odium on his proceedings, and gave a colour of popularity to thoſe of Scindea, his great rival and opponent. The conteſt between theſe competitors became afterwards a mere trial of ſtrength, which terminated in the flight of Nana. The ſubſequent events have already been related. Yet though driven by his enemy from the ſeat of government, his confidence in ultimate ſucceſs appears never to have forſaken him; but remote from the intrigues and faction of the capital, he contemplated at a diſtance the

eventful ſcene before him, and judging of mankind by the unerring rule of practical experience, he calculated upon conſequences from his knowledge of individual character; and with that wiſe and foreſeeing policy, which, ſtrong in its own reſources, equally rejects the extremes of confidence and deſpair, he ſupplied from the fertility of unexhauſted genius an expedient for every poſſible event.

Thus, after twelve months confuſion and intrigue, the ſport of faction and the prey of anarchy, the empire is at length reſtored to tranquillity, and the prince to his juſt rights; and during this arduous and diſtreſſing period, the conduct of Bajarow has ever been firm, moderate, and conſiſtent. Such a character muſt always be reſpectable; but theſe inferior qualities are loſt in the ſplendour of ſuperior virtues. It is neceſſary to relate, that during the confuſion of the revolution many of the Bhow's adherents, among whom were ſome of Bajarow's moſt declared enemies, fled to his camp to implore his mercy; and that they received, not only pardon, but protection. He extended his forgiveneſs to the whole without reſerve, aſſuring them he conſidered their conduct as proceeding rather from error than guilt. Such was his conduct upon this memorable occaſion, in which he exerciſed the moſt ſublime virtue of a human being; but he "had ſuffered perſecution, and had learned mercy."

If in the contemplation of this exalted character we find language inadequate to the fulneſs of our conceptions, perhaps the deficiency does not lie in any paucity of expreſſion, but in no expreſſion being ſufficiently forcible to do juſtice to ſuch ſuperior merit: for if to bear adverſity with magnanimity; if to ſupport proſperity with moderation; if a pertinacious adherence to his engagements, a virtue rare indeed for this country; if theſe qualities be admired as traits and emanations of a noble mind, how much muſt our veneration increaſe, when we reflect upon that ſublime clemency, that,

"falling

"falling like the gentle rain from heaven," undiſtinguiſhingly upon all, compriſed within its boundleſs charity every deſcription of offenders! To ſay that Bajarow may not poſſibly deſcend from this *acmé* of virtue to the level of ordinary reputation, is at beſt but an invidious ſuppoſition; but from the dawning proſpects of his reign, the empire may look forward to a ſucceſſion of halcyon days, after the tempeſts by which it has ſo recently been agitated.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE name of General De Boigne having occurred in the preceding pages under circumſtances which muſt neceſſarily excite the further curioſity of our readers, we truſt it will be gratifying to many to ſubjoin an account of this celebrated officer, extracted from a work of high reputation lately publiſhed.

We beg to preface this extract by contradicting a report which was circulated on the General's firſt arrival in this country, that he was by birth a Frenchman: in fact, he was born at Chamberry, the capital of Savoy, and conſequently a ſubject of the King of Sardinia. He ſerved many years as an officer in the armies of the late Empreſs of Ruſſia; was taken priſoner by the Turks, and liberated at the ſubſequent peace. Being thus, by the cuſtom of the ſervice, reduced to half-pay, he determined to ſeek further ſervice with the Britiſh army in the Eaſt Indies, that, by diſtinguiſhing himſelf, he might at leaſt obtain recommendation to an advance of rank and full pay on his return to Ruſſia.

In India, he was appointed an officer of the body-guard of the Earl of Macartney, then governor of Madras: but conceiving that the circumſtance of his being a foreigner might prove a bar to any conſiderable promotion, he quitted the ſervice at Madras, and obtained very handſome introductions to Bengal; from thence he proceeded to Scindea with very ſtrong

recommendations to that chieftain from perſons high in the ſervice of the Company.

The preceding pages and the following extracts ſufficiently mark the acute and ſagacious politician as well as the brave and experienced officer.—The General is now ſettled in London in the enjoyment of a princely fortune, the fair fruits of his brilliant and arduous ſervices; highly and deſervedly reſpected in the firſt circles, and his houſe the diſtinguiſhed reſort of faſhion and elegance.

Extract from the Hiſtory of Shah-Aulum, by Captain Franklin, of the Eaſt India Company's Service.

"After the ſettlement of the government at Delhi, Scindea directed his attention to the ſubjugation of the different Raaje Poote ſtates, who, during the late diſturbances and frequent revolutions, had become in a great meaſure independent of the court. In this arduous undertaking he was aſſiſted by the profeſſional abilities of an European officer of diſtinguiſhed eminence. Mr. De Boigne, a gentleman formerly in the ſervice of the Eaſt India Company, had, of late years, upon advantageous offers being made to him, entered into that of Scindea, and on many occaſions had contributed to the aſcendancy acquired by that prince over his competitors. Mr. De Boigne, whoſe acuteneſs and penetration enabled him to diſcern the vaſt ſuperiority which diſcipline obtains over irregular multitudes, and the advantages to be derived from the introduction of European tactics, propoſed to Scindea to raiſe a body of troops, clothed and diſciplined, as far as the local and religious prejudices would admit, after the model of the Company's European troops. The propoſal was readily accepted on the part of the Maratta chief, and Mr. De Boigne, who had been raiſed to the rank of General, prepared to carry it into effect.

"In the courſe of the current year the firſt regular brigade ever attached to the Maratta ſervice was raiſed, clothed, and appointed:

appointed: it conſiſted of ten battalions, of ſeven hundred and fifty men each; ſeven of which battalions were regulars, denominated natives, Talingas, clothed, and armed with muſket and bayonet, like the Company's troops. The three remaining battalions were Patans, armed with matchlocks of a new invention; their uniform was made after the Perſian faſhion; and the whole brigade, regulars as well as matchlocks, were exerciſed by the manual word of command, as practiſed in European armies. To render the brigade more compact, five hundred mewattis, or irregular ſoldiers, were attached, to perform the ordinary routine of camp duties, ſo that the troops might be ready on all occaſions for active ſervice. Five hundred cavalry were attached to the brigade, and ſixty pieces of well-mounted and well-ſerved artillery, from three to ſix and nine pounders.

"In the ſucceeding years of 1791, 1792, and 1793, the ſecond and third brigades were gradually raiſed of nearly equal force, with the addition of one thouſand Rohillas, for the expreſs purpoſe of leading the ſtorming parties. The force thus raiſed amounted in the whole to twenty-four thouſand men, and one hundred and thirty pieces of artillery, commanded by European officers of different nations, and directed by the enterpriſing ſpirit and unremitted perſeverance of the General who raiſed them. Their ſucceſs on a variety of the moſt trying occaſions proved equal to their expectations, and Scindea confeſſed his obligations to Mr. De Boigne, by repoſing in him a confidence almoſt unlimited, and by the ceſſion of fifty-two diſtricts in the Doo Ab, to be appropriated expreſsly as jaiedad, for the maintenance of the troops he had raiſed. Aided by his exertions, he, in the period we have mentioned, not only recovered his former poſſeſſions, but in the end extended his influence to the Punjab frontier; by a rapid ſucceſſion of victories he defeated the Nuwaub Iſmael Beg, Gholaum Caudir Khan, the countries of Oudepore, and Joudpore, and Jynaghur; and though he could

not abſolutely wreſt theſe dominions from the laſt-mentioned prince, he compelled him to the payment of an annual tribute."

The Letter, of which the following is an extract, appeared in the Calcutta Gazette, and is dated from the Patan camp, 1ſt July 1790:

"On the 23d of May laſt our army attacked that of Iſhmael, joined by the Raaje Pootes; but from their numerous artillery, and ſtrong ſituation, we could make no impreſſion on their lines, after ſeveral attempts, and retired at dark, without effecting any thing. We continued till the 20th of June without any important circumſtance occurring, though we were watchful for opportunities, it being full nine coſs round the mountains to come even at their foraging parties; but General De Boigne hearing that the enemy's council had been fixed on that day (the 20th) to meet us boldly on the plain, ſent word to their commander, Iſhmael Beg, that he would meet him half way. Accordingly, about three gurries before day-break, the drums beat to arms; but from expecting the enemy, the line was not drawn up till nine in the morning. Here our army waited, bidding defiance to the enemy, till near three in the afternoon, when ſome pindarus (horſemen) began to ſkirmiſh with ſome of Iſhmael's cavalry, upon which our brigade advanced to ſupport them. This continued till we arrived within reach of their grape, when, from the great loſs of claſſeys and golandoſſes, our guns could not proceed. At this period a heavy cannonade on both ſides commenced, and laſted till about ſix in the evening, when our intrepid general, placing himſelf at the head of one of the battalions, and giving orders to the reſt to follow him, and leave the guns in charge of the ſecond line, ruſhed forward, ſword in hand, to the mouth of the enemy's cannon. This vigorous proceeding animating all our troops, had the deſired effect, as we almoſt inſtantaneouſly got poſſeſſion of their firſt

line; their ſecond was forced about eight, and by nine o'clock the enemy were entirely routed. Our general's courage and judgment on this occaſion were equally conſpicuous.

"By this victory, the greateſt Scindea ever gained, we took one hundred pieces of cannon, fifteen elephants, camels innumerable, one hundred pair of colours, and the enemy's whole baggage. The following morning, ſeven battalions and ten thouſand irregular troops laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the conquerors. In the courſe of three days we took the ſtrong town of Patan by ſtorm, which was afterwards razed to the ground, and ſo intimidated the Rajah who commanded Patan Fort (a place reſembling Gibraltar, from its almoſt impregnable poſition), that he ſubmitted to become a vaſſal of Scindea, and is now with us on our march towards Jeypour. Our ſignal victory was gained with only the loſs of about ſeven hundred men killed and wounded; but the number of the enemy who have fallen muſt be immenſe; for it is ſaid, that beſide thoſe left in the field, the road from hence to Jeypour, about thirty coſs, is covered with the dead carcaſſes of men, horſes, camels, and bullocks. Their camp, which was three miles in length and one in breadth, we burned, and left not a ſtick ſtanding. Our ſucceſs affords a ſtrong proof of the amazing power of diſcipline under a brave and ſkilful commander, which De Boigne undoubtedly is. Our infantry, which gained this battle (for the Maratta horſe remained in the rear), only conſiſted of about ſix thouſand fighting men, and conquered an army of twenty-five thouſand infantry, and upwards of twenty thouſand cavalry. We expect this campaign to be entirely maſters of the Raaje Poote country. This ſucceſs muſt certainly overthrow the Mhogle intereſt in this part of Hindooſtan."

THE END.

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